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WEEKLY 'INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE'

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["International Observers' Roundtable" with Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Vedenyapin, foreign policy commentator of all-union radio; Igor Petrovich Belyayev, head of the foreign policy department of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA; and TASS political observer Gennadiy Arkadyevich Shishkin]

CEMA Cooperation

[Text] [Vedenyapin] A working consultative meeting of the secretaries of central committees of communist and workers parties of CEMA member-countries and of permanent representatives of the CEMA states was held in Moscow this week. Issues connected with the further improvement and deepening of economic and scientific-technical cooperation among CEMA member-countries were discussed in a comradely atmosphere. Also, the 105th session of the CEMA Executive Committee was held recently in our capital at which the representatives of fraternal countries considered the most important questions of cooperation in the sphere of material production. Both these events demonstrate that the work of the economic cooperation bodies of the socialist countries is an established practice and is progressing along a clearly-defined path of collective interaction.

In the West one frequently hears it asserted that the socialist economy, as they say, is also in recession and is stagnating. In this way, they are trying to present objective difficulties of growth contradictions corroding socialism. All the same, trade and economic conflicts are currently shaking the capitalist countries, which are suffering from inflation and stagnation in production. And at a time when socialism has ensured everyone the right to work, an army of almost 30 million has been formed in the industrially-developed countries of the West which threatens to reach the 35 million mark this year.

Other symptoms of the crisis are no less convincing. For instance, corrected for inflation the U.S. gross national product is now almost the same as 4 years ago. In West Germany it has not grown for 2 years. In Britain the output of industrial goods has remained the same for 10 years, and even in Japan it did not increase last year.

But socialism convincingly demonstrates its advantages. Its economy is developing upward as a whole. Let us just take the past decade. It was not the most favorable for the economies of a number of socialist states, but all the same the rates of economic growth of CEMA members turned out to be twice as high as those of the developed capitalist countries. The national income of CEMA countries increased on an average by 66 percent and the volume of gross production by 84 percent.

In a word, a huge economic potential has been created. CEMA member-countries now produce, for example, almost 1.5 times more electricity, twice the mineral fertilizer and more than 1.5 times the steel than the Common Market states. These figures also demonstrate the advantages of the socialist structure and all-round fraternal cooperation. In a word, we have every reason to affirm that the community of socialist states is a powerful and healthy organism and is the force which -- in the present international situation, artificially complicated by aggressive imperialist circles, primarily by the United States -- stands out as a powerful factor for preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

All-European Security, Cooperation

[Belyayev] A growing understanding of this provides hope and confidence in the future to millions of those taking part in the antiwar struggle and promotes the unprecedented growth of this struggle which has now united people of the most varied convictions. A vivid illustration of this was the meeting of political and social activists of participating countries of the all-European conference on security and cooperation which ended in Vienna this week. An extremely objective discussion on ways of removing the threat of nuclear war in Europe and throughout the world took place at the Vienna conference, at which more than 250 people from 28 countries gathered, people of different nationalities and views of the world. Concrete political, economic, social and moral-legal aspects of the struggle for peace and for curbing the arms race were discussed.

The Vienna conference also condemned the notorious Reagan zero option, which Washington put forward only to bring to nought the chances of attaining reasonable agreement at the talks in Geneva. For West Europeans to permit the deployment of new American missiles if these talks break down, stressed British Labor Party leader Michael Foot in his message to the conference, would be suicide.

[Shishkin] Igor Petrovich, I would add that the peaceful initiatives of our country and its allies and the proposals contained in the speeches of Yuriy Andropov and in the political statement of the Prague conference of the Political Consultative Committee meeting were highly praised in the plenary meetings and committees which met in the Vienna Hofburg Palace. It was pointed out that these initiatives really provide broad possibilities for an objective and honest dialogue between East and West.

This point of view was also undoubtedly also reflected, for example, during the debates which took place in the Danish parliament. The deputies there adopted a resolution which calls on the government to see that the West works out realistic proposals, taking into account precisely the recent peace initiatives of the Soviet Union.

[Vedenyapin] Well, Gennadiy Arkadeyich, this decision in the Danish Folketing was undoubtedly influenced by antiwar mood in the country. As a CBS correspondent rightly remarked, the issue of the deployment of U.S. missiles is now being resolved in varying degrees at the negotiating table and in the streets of European cities. In his report he cited these figures from public opinion polls in Britain and the FRG: 65 percent of Britons and 61 percent of West Germans are against the U.S. missiles.

In general, it has to be said that in the struggle for peace and detente, the antiwar movement, which is continuing to spread to the streets, international forums such as the Vienna conference of political and social activists, and naturally also talks, among which the Madrid meeting has an important place, are complementing and influencing each other more and more.

[Shishkin] That's right, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich, the successful completion of the Madrid meeting would have great significance for how events in the world develop -- toward the normalization of the international situation and reducing the danger of war; or toward the further aggravation of international tension and confrontation. The situation in Europe at the moment demands more than ever before that states unite their efforts with the aim of consistently conducting a policy of detente, peace and disarmament. Therefore, the continuation and deepening of the multilateral process begun at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe takes on special significance.

The 7 and 1/2 years which have gone by since the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act have shown that it laid the true road toward strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe. The core of this, one of the most important documents of the post-war era, is the declaration of principles by which the states-participants undertook to be guided in their mutual relations.

This is a real code of standards which the states-participants must unwaveringly apply in their relations with each other, regardless of their political, economic and social systems, geographical position and level of economic development. The socialist states have made maximum efforts to apply in practice the principles set out in the Final Act, to create a reliable basis for removing aggression and to promote the establishment on the European Continent of an atmosphere conducive to mutual trust and to the broad reform of the system of international relations on a peaceful basis. The Soviet Union has called and calls for the questions pertaining to restraining the arms race, effecting disarmament and removing the danger of a further war to be resolved in a practical way by means of agreements between states.

[Vedenyapin] But Gennadiy Arkadiyevich, over the 7 and 1/2 years which have elapsed, another trend in international politics has been clearly defined. It is spearheaded by U.S. imperialism and is based on continuing the arms race and giving it an even bigger scope. The United States has practically declared a crusade against socialism and is doing all it can to bury detente. For this purpose it is actively reviving the cold war. In NATO arsenals a mountain of new armaments is being accumulated, first and foremost weapons of mass destruction. Behind all this can be seen an evident desire to smash the existing military equilibrium between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, to take up a position of strength and to dictate their will to others from that position, including at the negotiating table.

[Shishkin] Indeed, as they say, right now there is an enormous distance between the wishes of imperialism and its possibilities. Indeed the criminal designs of imperialism have been resolutely rebuffed by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They are thereby making an important contribution to strengthening security not only on the European Continent but in the whole world. To make the socialist countries' relations with Western Europe more active is very important. A broad substantive dialogue with the West European countries and stronger cooperation with them could breathe new life into detente. An accord at Madrid on convening a conference on measures to strengthen confidence and security and on disarmament in Europe would be of paramount importance for attaining these aims.

It is just to this end that our countries' fundamental efforts in Madrid are directed. Confirmation at the Madrid meeting of the resolve of interstate relations adopted at Helsinki and to define, in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the Final Act, measures to develop cooperation in the political, economic, humanitarian and other fields would be greatly important for the future of the cause of peace. It is no less important also for Madrid to ensure the continuity of the all-European process and of its organizational framework. This means, first and foremost, to establish the precise time and venue for the next meeting of states participating in the all-European conference. The socialist countries are pressing for this meeting to be held in Bucharest.

[Belyayev] The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have done much in order to create a favorable situation on the eve of the Madrid meeting. As a result of the peace initiatives which were put forward by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and by the Warsaw Pact states, noticeable turns for the better are coming about on the international scene. First and foremost, I would say, these are turns for the better in the mood of the masses of the people. At the end of this week the London publishing house Pergamon Press issued Comrade Andropov's book *Selected Speeches and Articles in English*. In presenting this book to the English reader Maxwell, the head of the publishing house, said: Recent speeches by Andropov and the new peace initiatives he has put forward are often referred to in the West as a peace offensive by the USSR. I believe in the sincerity of this offensive. I should very much like to see Western governments give a positive reply to these initiatives by the Soviet Union.

U.S.-USSR Disarmament Talks

[Shishkin] It is clear that the British publisher's wish reflects a widespread public mood not only in Western Europe but also in the United States. From this point of view a curious remark came from the well-known American observer Kraft who said that in response to the proposals made by the Russians the Reagan administration has been forced to go quietly on the defensive. So what conclusion is Washington drawing from the failure of its policies?

The thought does not even arise, of course, of changing the essence of U.S. policy itself. What is changing a little is merely the methods by which this policy is served up to public opinion. There have begun to appear unusual words in the lexicon of official representatives of the Reagan administration about the desirability of constructive relations with the Soviet Union. But in effect the administration is continuing to do everything it can to prejudice the national interests of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community.

[Vedenyapin] Gennadiy Arkadiyevich, President Reagan, as you know, addressed a message this week to the U.S. Congress on the activities of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In this document he said that he is heartened, as he put it, by the serious and businesslike progress of the Geneva talks between the Soviet Union and the United States. But what is the real position in Washington?

[Shishkin] Yes, indeed, these are just words addressed clearly to Western Europe and to those who support the antiwar movement at home in the United States. But in actual fact, from the moment these talks began 30 November 1981 and right up to this day the U.S. position has remained unchanged. For 14 months the U.S. side has not backed off even an inch from its absolutely unrealistic zero option which envisages the elimination of all Soviet medium-range missiles over the whole of the Soviet Union's territory while all those NATO nuclear weapons in the corresponding category are fully retained. Everything being said and done lately in Washington inexorably testifies to the fact that the U.S. side is not keen to achieve an accord on reducing nuclear weapons in Europe.

The chief U.S. aim remains the deployment of the new U.S. medium-range missiles while the Geneva talks serve merely as a screen for preparations to be pursued for the deployment of these missiles scheduled for the end of 1983. Evidence of this is also provided by the propaganda tour made by Vice President Bush to seven West European countries in a frank attempt on the one hand, to disinform West European public opinion and on the other hand, to exert pressure on NATO countries' governments to implement the decision on deploying the U.S. missiles.

[Vedenyapin] In Washington they are behaving as though the Geneva talks are a failure in advance. To confirm this one can cite a number of recent reports. Thus, according to reliable information in the foreign press, over 70 launching pads have already been constructed for new U.S. missiles in Western Europe. A Luxembourg subsidiary of the U.S. engineering company Commercial Hydraulics has begun working on an order connected with the construction of new missile bases on the territory of the FRG.

Bush's propaganda tour of Western Europe, which you have just mentioned, Gennadiy Arkadiyevich, and then these facts I have just cited unambiguously show that Washington is adamantly reluctant to renounce its global, what we might call imperial, tactics. This is manifested not only in Western Europe but in a whole series of other areas of the world.

Situation in Lebanon

[Belyayev] Naturally, one of the most heated areas remains the Near East. I do not think I am telling our listeners anything they do not already know if I recall that there are two wars going on at the same time in the region.

What I have in mind is the war against Lebanon, Israel's war, and the Iran-Iraq war. Well if we, so to speak, broaden our attention just a bit to everything that is going on in the Near and Middle East then a third war must also be mentioned -- the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Since all this is taking place on our own border, our attention to this very large geographical subregion is naturally great. Of course very recently a great deal of attention has been devoted to everything going on in Israel. The Begin government met 3 days in a row to discuss the report of the commission which investigated the massacres at Sabra and Shatila.

What happened in fact? Very interesting information was published in the world's press on this. Ya'akov Meridor, who is responsible for refugee problems in the Israeli Government, made the following statement for instance: Send them east or, in other words, all the Palestinians who were living in refugee camps on Lebanese territory. The systematic destruction of refugee camps in southern Lebanon was thus supposed to bring about the departure of the refugees. Everything which happened at Sabra and Shatila was supposed to lead to some kind of explosion of panic so that people would flee without looking back. As was pointed out, the task was to be as follows: Out of the 500,000 Palestinians who had been living in Lebanon a maximum of 50,000 were to be left while 450,000 were to be dispersed into neighboring Arab states.

This is no longer any kind of military operation. This is not longer any kind of political action. Rather, this is a policy connected with an attempt to destroy the Palestinian people, to deprive them of the opportunity to acquire their own statehood and to trample all their national rights, even by using such a ruthless means as were used at Sabra and Shatila. We have received a report, now well-known to all radio listeners, that Sharon has handed in his resignation. Today, in fact, the Israeli Government wishes to represent the matter concerning Sabra and Shatila as some sort of misunderstanding, if you like, connected with individual generals and colonels of the Israeli army who carried out their duty badly. Begin is being shielded from the blow and the whole political establishment is trying thus to preserve their position.

[Vedenyapin] Igor Petrovich, it is said that Israel's incursion into Lebanon is not like all the previous wars against the Arabs which have taken place since 1948. What distinguishes the war taking place today from those of, say, July 1967 or October 1973?

[Belyayev] I am convinced that the instigators of the incursion into Lebanon, Begin and Sharon, have put a much more extensive task before the Israeli army than in 1967 and 1973 when Israel was forced to defend itself against Egypt and Syria who had started a war for the return of occupied areas. What is the essence of this task? Well, first they wish to smash Lebanon. Second, by making use of everything that has happened so far in Lebanon they wish to strike against the neighboring Arab countries.

At the moment, an extremely strong campaign is being waged against Syria. They also have plans to solve the Palestinian problem at the expense of Jordan. In summer last year, when I was able to hold an interview with King Husayn of Jordan, I heard from him the argument that Beirut and Lebanon are only the beginning, and that in 1 year or 1 and 1/2 years it will be Jordan's turn and that this is inevitable. That is, Israel now has started to carry out an extensive expansionist program but with means which it has never used before. This is the undermining of the state system of Lebanon and other neighboring Arab states, the destruction of their political structure in such a way as to drive the Arabs not simply into a corner.

In my opinion, it is time we also started to look at it from the point of view that war has now actually been declared on the entire Arab civilization. In any case events are now taking place in the Near East which are far from being purely of immediate significance. I think that the war undertaken against Lebanon in June last year is not simply a large-scale war but a war which has been set the very far-ranging tasks of crushing the Arab countries, forcing them to capitulate, and to agree to whatever peace will be dictated from Tel Aviv and Washington.

[Shishkin] Igor Petrovich, I think that along with all these negative factors we also see certain positive shifts, perhaps, in the situation in the Near East. I mean the expanding support among Arab countries for the proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries concerning a genuine, peaceful settlement for this region. Probably the firm support of the Soviet Union for the justified fight by the Arabs is greatly significant for the success of the Arab peoples in this fight.

Settlement of Afghan Problem

[Vedenyapin] Igor Petrovich, you have just spoken about three troublespots in this geographical subregion, the Near East. I would simply like to recall our stance. We, of course, support both a reasonable settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict and a political settlement of the Afghan problem. It is specifically stated in the Prague Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee that the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact support the initiative of the UN which is now undertaking attempts through Diego Cordovez, the assistant secretary general on special political matters, to find a political settlement of this problem. Cordovez, as you know, recently went to Kabul, Tehran and Islamabad. It is unfortunate that this UN initiative consistently fails to find support from Washington where on the contrary everything is being done to torpedo it.

[Belyayev] I think that in this case we are witnesses to a continuation of the same line by the United States which became plain a long time ago in the Near East. Solving the Afghan problem is not one of their interests. They would very much like Pakistan and Iran, neighboring states of Afghanistan, to adopt a stance which will promote an intensification of activity by the counterrevolutionaries inside Afghanistan. Reagan, as everyone well knows, recently received the ringleaders of the Afghan counterrevolution and told them openly that they, the Americans that is, will give not only financial but also military aid to this counterrevolution.

Against this background, it seems to me, the achievements of the Afghan revolution are even more appreciable and positive. We are approaching the 5th anniversary of this revolution which took place in April, 1978. It seems to me that today there is a basis for claiming that the methods and means employed for the revolutionary reforms inside the country are being perfected and I would say that they are being perfected in the correct direction. In the first place, this phase of the Afghan revolution is very clearly defined. The socialist phase is considered to be a future phase and at present the revolution is regarded as a national-democratic one. What is interesting in this is that both the government and the local functionaries of people's power consider their main task to be conduct revolutionary reform along with the people.

What does this mean in practical terms? You must not forget of course, that Afghanistan is a country where more than 90 percent of the population are illiterate, where the Islamic faith is very strong. These two factors which were at first ignored by the former leadership, are now very much taken into account. I would say that the mood of the broad mass of the people is respected in the proper way.

For us, for example, it is a simple matter to set up a kindergarten. Some of our listeners will probably say, why, that is just nothing. But to set up a kindergarten in Afghanistan is an enormously complex problem. Who will be the teacher? If you want to take your children to a kindergarten, where do you take them and whom do you hand them over to? Who will take care of their education? On what basis can you establish the norms of child behavior in revolutionary conditions?

So when you have what seems to be a simple problem, but in Afghanistan they have had to overcome a mountain of difficulties. So building the first 100 kindergartens in Afghanistan is a great victory.

Every day there is this laborious work. It concludes the implementation of reforms such as the agrarian reform and the land and water reform because for the plot of land given to a previously landless Afghan peasant to produce a harvest, he has to be provided with water and seeds. But this is just ordinary reality, as anyone who has, so to speak, ever come across a national liberation revolution knows.

When, as the result of wide-scale and, I would say, long-term reforms involving a fundamental change in relations on the land, a fundamental change in production relations in the countryside and a fundamental change in relations involved in the struggle against illiteracy; when people do not simply send their children to school, but send them there with the hope that tomorrow their little boy or little girl will become a full and equal citizen of the republic, and will bring the most enormous benefit not only to the country but also to their family; it is by all these means that the people's power wins trust. This means in practice that the resistance to the counterrevolution, which is being supported from outside by the United States, will grow and gain in strength.

[Vedenyapin] Igor Petrovich, despite all the internal difficulties, despite the difficulties of an external and internal nature, do you think we can still say that the process of consolidating social life, the process of consolidating Afghan society around the party and the government is taking place there?

[Belyayev] Yes, I think we can. This is what I base my confidence on. These grains of success which are linked, in rural areas and small towns, you know, are scattered. Afghanistan is a big country even for the Near and Middle East. When these grains come to be gathered together into a single whole -- and this will only happen when all the people believe in the revolutionary reform of the country -- then I think that this counterrevolution which is being encouraged by Washington and supported from outside, -- and it is the counterrevolution which is waging this undeclared war -- will then be easily crushed. Naturally, to my mind, one of the reasons for the confidence of both our Afghan friends and the Afghan people as a whole that the revolution will triumph is the aid given by the Soviet Union and the Afghan-Soviet friendship which has existed from the very first days following the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution.

[Vedenyapin] Thank you. At this point, comrades, our time has come to an end. We thank you for listening and look forward to meeting you again at the roundtable.

PAPERS COMMENT ON BUSH'S WEST EUROPE VISIT

PRAVDA on Conclusion of Visit

PM111519 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 83 First Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent A. Maslennikov: "Inglorious Visit"]

[Text] London 10 Feb -- U.S. Vice president G. Bush completes his publicity and diplomatic tour of West European countries today after a 2-day stay in the British capital. Undertaken to "explain" U.S. nuclear strategy and to try to dispel the West European public's mounting fears concerning Washington's militarist course, the trip was planned so that its finale would coincide with the U.S. vice president's stay on the territory of Washington's "closest" and "most loyal" ally in West Europe and thus make it possible to demonstrate the maximum unity of the NATO countries.

But this scenario began to spring leaks from the outset. Virtually everywhere G. Bush appeared he was greeted with protest demonstrations. On his way to London's Guildhall, where the U.S. vice president was to address members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the motorcade had to drive through ranks of demonstrators filling all the adjacent streets. "Bush go home!", "Britain says 'no' to cruise missiles!", "Bush, tell Reagan we won't let him wage a nuclear war in Europe!" "We demand a nuclear-free Britain. U.S. military bases out of Britain!" the demonstrators chanted.

There were also unpleasant incidents for Washington's representative in the Guildhall itself. Scarcely had Bush completed his latest panegyric to Washington policy when Canon Bruce Kent, secretary general of the British campaign for nuclear disarmament, rose to demand that he explain why the United States had voted in the United Nations against the call, supported by the overwhelming majority of states, for a freeze on nuclear arsenals. G. Bush could give no reply of substance to this question.

Mr Bush's misadventures did not end there, however, when, after his speech at the Guildhall, he arrived at the British prime minister's residence at 10 Downing Street, he was greeted by new groups of demonstrators which included members of the peace camp at Greenham Common -- where it is planned to deploy the first consignment of cruise missiles this December -- who had traveled to London specially. Some of the demonstrators dressed in black, lay down in the road to bar the Washington envoy's way.

Eventually, as the MORNING STAR, the newspaper of the British Communists and workers, notes, Mr Bush had to be satisfied with shows of "unanimity" only from Prime Minister M. Thatcher, Foreign Secretary F. Pym, Defense Secretary M. Heseltine and other participants in the 10 Downing Street banquet whose full support for Washington's militarist course has never been in doubt.

Bush's visit, THE MORNING STAR writes in today's editorial comment, is evidence of the weakness of the political positions of the Reagan administration and of those who support it. The public in the West European countries rejects their militarist course. It rejects the cruise missiles and Pershings, and no publicity speeches can alter that fact. In many European countries, particularly in West Germany, the newspaper THE GUARDIAN adds, there is now deep distrust of the motives and entire doctrine of deterrence preached by the United States. Successive Washington administrations, including the present one, THE GUARDIAN writes, speak of peace and the balance of forces but in actual fact have tried and are continuing to try to achieve military superiority over the USSR. We have reached the point where the catastrophe which threatens the world must be made to recede by one means or other. And that is the message Mr Bush must take home with him.

IZVESTIYA's Sturua

LD130001 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 12 Feb 83

["Text" of IZVESTIYA article by Melor Sturua: "The Rape of Europe Did Not Take Place"]

[Text] Moscow 12 Feb (TASS) -- Observing the visit by U.S. Vice President George Bush to West Europe I unvolunatrily recalled the pictures from the American documentary movie "War at Home" about the anti-war movement in the United States in the years of the agres- sion in Vietnam. A sma'll university town in the Midwest. A professor, who is a paci- fist, is trying to convey sense to a representative of the State Department who arrived from Washington with an "explanation" of why Americans were fighting in Vietnam:

It seems that you consider that the problem lies in our failure to understand your policy, and therefore only one thing is to be done: to explain it to us. But doesn't it occur to you that we have a perfect understanding of this policy and that we are protesting against it, and that is where the core of the problem is to be found? says the professor.

It is precisely this sort of problem that George Bush encountered during his travels in West Europe. The more he explained to his audience why "Persnings" and "Tomahawks" are good for West Europeans, the more he roused his audience against the nuclear winged death. The more eloquently he advertized the "zero option," the more eloquently he revealed its groundlessness. (Not surprisingly, any number multiplied by zero will yield but zero!) The more eloquently he painted the need for the "American nuclear umbrella" for the countries of NATO, the more clearly the phantom of the nuclear mushroom rose above them. To put it briefly, Vice President Bush was submitting himself to a form of medieval torture by strangulating collar, in the course of which any movement in an attempt to save oneself from being stragled only increases the strangulation. Evidently at some point toward the end of his trip the Washington visitor himself began to sense this. "Bush has notably lost some of his fighting spirit" the British GUARDIAN newspaper noted.

At the beginning of his tour the fighting spirit was very much in evidence. Waving Reagan's appeal "to the nations of Europe," Bush dashingly destroyed the myths which he himself created, ascribed aggressive aspirations to the Soviet Union and, there and then, prescribed antidotes against them. The speech writers of the American vice president had made a really good effort, both as regards obeisances in respect of European tradi- tions, history and culture, and as regards sophistry and misrepresentation. As regards the first aspect it was Bush alone who got into a fix, which, generally speaking is forgivable in the case of an inhabitant of Texas. Thus, for instance, while on the banks of the Tiber he exclaimed: "We will not agree to abandon our principles and, when we are criticized for the fact that we have shown firmness I recall the lesson of the history of Rome: Those who defend their own moral principles will win in the end." Evidently neither Bush nor his "speech writers" have read Plutarch nor even Suetonius. And yet the history of Rome teaches, among other things, that Caesar's pretending to world domination brought about the disintegration of its empires. Well, talking about the morals of ancient Rome as being a way to achieve victory, it is possible, perhaps, only in the pages of PLAYBOY.

Nero (a roman Emperor -- for the information of Bush's "speech writers" -- M.S.) burned down Rome to give reins to his inspiration. The American propagandists of the "zero option" give reins to their inspiration, playing with nuclear fire in Europe and through- out the world. And here we are going over to the sophistry and misrepresentation which cannot be excused by Texan ignorance.

The U.S. vice president tried to convey to West Europeans the idea that neither on the table of the Geneva negotiations, nor anywhere else on earth is there in existence any other plan for the solution of the problem of nuclear armaments in Europe other than the "zero proposal" of Reagan. Pathetically he called upon the Soviet Union to make "its contribution," as if for him our proposals in that field amounted to the same "terra ignota" as the history of Rome. And yet it was precisely the force of attraction of the Soviet proposals and initiatives of the countries of the Warsaw Pact that compelled Bush to cross the Atlantic and swear loyalty to the ancient stones of Europe.

Here is what the Washington observer Joseph Kraft writes on the subject: "The U.S. Administration, replying to the Soviet proposals, has to run to keep in the same place. It came to power after adopting a tough attitude toward the Russians. Defending this attitude the administration has proposed a colossal increase in military potential. But it is difficult to maintain such an attitude. Statements by American leaders caused fear of nuclear conflagration among Europeans. G. Bush was sent there to calm the Europeans."

Bush's visit, which one of my colleagues on the staff of IZVESTIYA described as a "gallop across Europe," was indeed nothing else but an attempt to run in order not to lose ground. In the same way the "flexibility" which he advertized was in point of fact a form -- camouflaged and made to look attractive -- of toughness and diktat. "We say flexibility and keep the zero option at the back of our mind" -- this was the core of all the propaganda speeches made by Bush. The current trip has taught George Bush "little" says the same GUARDIAN. He again uttered speeches about "the zero option" and "flexibility"...However, words are not enough to win support, what is needed are facts."

However, Bush's diplomatic luggage failed to reveal a businesslike approach to the most vital European problem. "The vice president has brought with him nothing which would concern the substance of the negotiations. And although he sat at the conference table with the Russians, he obviously posed before West Europeans," Walker, the correspondent of the American ABC television company reported from the shores of Lake Geneva. Yet at the conference table in Geneva -- during talks on strategic armaments and on Euro-missiles -- talks concerning the destiny of civilization, turning the place into an exotic background against which photographers normally take pictures of posing holiday-makers, therefore amounts to an irresponsible playing with that destiny.

The suitcases of the U.S. vice president had double bottoms and thus fully corresponded to the spirit and letter of NATO's notorious "dual decision." "Flexibility" and talks -- to calm West European public opinion, and tough attitude and nuclear arms race -- to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union. But the whole point is that, unlike Bush's suitcases, Europe, and, indeed, our whole planet, are indivisible when the talk comes to survival in the nuclear age. One must not endlessly try the patience of peoples, nor endlessly test ever new and more destructive means of mass destruction.

A travelling salesman seeking to get rid of old goods, even if they are presented in new wrappings, usually runs considerable risk. The risk lies in the fact that not only will he be left with musty merchandise but he might also acquire a mouldy reputation. To say that Bush has failed in achieving the objective which Reagan placed before him when sending him to Europe, means to describe only this present failure to shift musty goods. Zeal, which exceeded common sense, has for Bush played the part of a boomerang. "The form of this initiative leads to a suspicion that it was intended as a step toward a propaganda campaign and not to talks on disarmament."

This suspicion was strengthened by the theatrical manner of the presentation. The open letter "to the nations of Europe" which was read aloud by the vice president...is a strange way to expound a delicate diplomatic idea, so strange that the whole venture has become counterproductive, even on the level of propaganda," said THE LONDON TIMES.

And not only on the level of propaganda. The "grassroots" influence effected the "upper crust." Even the official hosts receiving Bush failed to radiate the previous enthusiasm, leaving it to the gloss of former communiques. And after his meeting with the pope, Bush stated that "there will be no comment." And yet he was keen to make a comment, if only to set back the Catholic leaders in the United States who stood up against the nuclear armaments race.

While in Paris, and, evidently wishing to please the intellectualism of the French, Bush quoted words from the play by Jean Giraud: "The Trojan war will not take place" -- "to watch disaster from the terrace is a privilege of the great." There will be no nuclear disaster in Europe if the Trojan horse of Washington -- "Pershing-2" and cruise missiles are not dragged onto its territory. As regards the transatlantic "great," he should remember this: There are no longer safe "terraces" in this world. A nuclear war in Europe will not be limited to this continent and it will be impossible to stay safe and comfortable away from it on any "terrace."

TASS ASSAILS BUSH REMARKS ON TV INTERVIEW

LD132211 Moscow TASS in English 2135 GMT 13 Feb 83

[Text] Washington February 13 TASS -- The United States is not going to renounce the plan to deploy its new nuclear weapons -- 572 Pershing-2 and cruise missiles -- on the territory of European countries despite the extensive opposition in Europe to turning the continent into a potential battleground. This has been stated directly by U.S. Vice President Bush in a televised interview today. The vice president, just back from his 12-day tour of West European countries, stressed that the date for missile deployments had been set and that the United States had no intention of showing indecisiveness and abandoning its objective.

George Bush strongly rejected the constructive Soviet proposals aimed at reaching mutually acceptable agreements with the United States.

Washington's true objective, as Bush's statement has shown anew is the escalation of the arms race behind the cover of propaganda about the U.S. "desire" to limit it, and also the blocking of talks with the USSR and refusal to work for mutually acceptable agreements at them.

TASS REPORTS CONCLUSION OF SHULTZ' ASIAN TOUR

LD111728 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 11 Feb 83

[Text] Washington February 11 TASS -- TASS correspondent Nikolay Pakhomov reports:

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz returned today from a 12-day tour of Asian countries. The trip was designed chiefly to strengthen the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military alliance.

In Tokyo, George Shultz urged his negotiating partners to go ahead with their programmes for military build-up and to coordinate their militaristic efforts with those of other allies of the USA.

The attempts to make a triangle out of Washington's bilateral ties with Tokyo and Seoul were especially intensified with the coming into power of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone who made it clear that he intended, more actively than his predecessors, to follow a policy toward making his country an associate of Washington in the latter's adventurist plans. Thus some time ago Japan decided to increase military spending in the current fiscal year and to transfer military technology to the Pentagon as well as promised to extend the sphere of operation of its armed forces.

In Seoul where George Shultz made generous promises for American arms shipments, the talks between the two sides were reportedly dominated by questions relating to the "American-Japanese-South Korean security system". Seoul is assigned the role of an outpost in the Pentagon's aggressive designs in Asia. So the USA is increasing its military support to South Korea, supplies it with modern arms, including missiles, and keeps there a 39,000-strong contingent of American troops. Tokyo agreed to act as a banker for Chong Tu-hwan's dictatorship and gave South Korea "aid" amounting to a 4 billion dollars. (Military expenditures in South Korea consume one-third of the budget.)

While in Hong Kong, where Shultz had a meeting with American ambassadors in Asian countries, he rudely attacked the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. He said, according to a WASHINGTON POST report, that Vietnam should be "politically and economically isolated."

During his talks in the People's Republic of China Shultz tried, specifically, to justify the Reagan administration's policy of building up Taiwan's military potential.

During his Asian tour, the NEWSWEEK says, the U.S. secretary of state found there profound public anxiety over the continuation of the arms race. But despite this public feeling he advertised the administration's policy of whipping up the arms race and sabotaging talks on this subject. Shultz reportedly defended Washington's so-called "zero option", a formula which cannot be used for achieving agreement on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe.

REAGAN MEETING WITH BUSH, SHULTZ REPORTED

LD121000 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 12 Feb 83

[Text] U.S. President Reagan received Vice President Bush at the White House after his tour of West European countries. He also received Secretary of State Shultz, who had just returned from a tour of a number of states in Asia. A statement from the President, issued by the White House, asserts that Bush and Shultz supposedly helped to confirm the United States' devotion to peace. That view is not, however, shared by peace-loving opinion.

ISRAELI DECISION TO REPLACE SHARON REPORTED

LD110752 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 11 Feb 83

[Text] According to reports from news agencies, at an emergency session of the Cabinet of the Israeli Government in Jerusalem it was decided to release Defense Minister Sharon from his post. This decision was made in connection with the fact that an official Israeli commission, which had investigated the circumstances surrounding the bloody massacre in the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian camps, found Sharon responsible for the organization of the mass annihilation of the Palestinian refugees in Beirut.

By excluding the defense minister from the Cabinet, the Israeli ruling clique is hoping to place the entire guilt for this crime on him and to remove the fire of criticism from Prime Minister Begin and the other Cabinet members who knew about preparations for the carnage of the Palestinians and sanctioned them.

It is also reported that there was a mass demonstration held outside the building where the Israeli Government session was being held. Those taking part -- representatives of the progressive public of Israel -- demanded the removal from the government of all those involved in the crime of Sabra and Shatila. Ultra-rightist Zionist thugs hurled a grenade into the ranks of the demonstrators, which resulted in one person being killed and seven wounded.

TASS ANALYSTS VIEW RESULTS OF ISRAELI COMMISSION

'Zionist Bluff'

LD102151 Moscow TASS in English 2125 GMT 10 Feb 83

["Zionist Bluff" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS-- By TASS political news analyst Boris Shabayev:

Hardly had the report by Israel's "Kahan commission" probing the massacre of Palestinian refugees in Sabra and Shatila been made public, when Western supporters of Tel Aviv seized at it to extend a helping hand to Menahem Begin and his criminal clique. The very fact of the establishment of the commission and its forced admission of responsibility of Defence Minister Ari'el Sharon and several other high-ranking officers in the Israeli army for the gruesome crime are portrayed as evidence of Israel's "adherence" to the basic standards of "western democracy". Praise to Tel Aviv for carrying out this "investigation" is, naturally, heaped by representatives of U.S. Zionist organizations. They are echoed zealously by some Western press bodies which claim that publication of the Kahan commission's findings makes it possible to "close" the issue of the bloodshed in Sabra and Shatila and turn this disgraceful page in the history of the Zionist state.

This will not be so, gentlemen. This history has too many such pages, stained in innocent blood. And each time Tel Aviv tries to erase them from the memory of mankind by resorting to its odious method of "investigation". It is sometimes dragged year after year and then suspended "due to the lack of evidence", then resumed again, as it was during the notorious "case" of Lavon, a former defence minister and one of the leaders of the MAPAI Party. When it becomes impossible to conceal the matter completely, those guilty of crimes are freed shortly after starting their term of imprisonment. Thus, an Israeli officer, who ordered without any reasons the execution of peasants from the Arab village of Kfar-Qasem in October 1956, was set free.

It is quite likely that some one, for instance General Sharon, will have to quit soon his post. But what will that change? Begin will replace him, as hinted in THE NEW YORK TIMES today by dyed-in-the-wool reactionary William Safire, by another well-known advocate of the tough line in order to send a signal to the world that his aims remain unchanged. He even names a worthy candidate, Moshe Arens, now serving as Israel's ambassador to Washington.

Shows with "investigation" are staged in Tel Aviv not only for the sake of Zionist propaganda, but they also bear the imprint of inter-party strife inside the ruling Israeli clique, secret or open struggle for government sinecure. It must be mentioned in this connection that the commission in question was finally set up contrary to most vigorous opposition of Begin and not without participation of his opponents. May be it is precisely this aspect of the Israeli political machine which some people in the West regard as a worthy specimen of "democracy". But to use this word with regard to the Zionist state is utter sacrilege.

What kind of democracy can one see in the country covered by a network of concentration camps and overcrowded jails, in the country where elementary rights of the native Arab population are daily violated in a rude way, where any dissent is ruthlessly punished and where even the Jewish population is divided into "pure" and "impure" -- shepards and Ashkenzi, whose equality is a long way off?

Well, no fig leaves of Kahan commission's report can conceal the essence of the inhuman Zionist ideology and Tel Aviv's criminal policy whose list of victims also includes the Palestinian refugees who found shelter in Sabra and Shatila.

Commission Findings Noted

LD101137 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 10 Feb 83

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS -- TASS commentator Grigoriy Vasilyev writes:

The Israeli ruling circles are making feverish efforts to stifle the outcry over the report released by the Commission of Inquiry into the circumstances of mass killings in the Palestinian refugee camps Sabra and Shatila in West Beirut. The patently untenable arguments of "ignorance" and "lack of information" are being put forward and attempts made to justify Israel's actions by the desire to "minimize the losses of the Israeli army," which, it is claimed, resorted to the services of mercenary killers on orders from Tel Aviv. There is an obvious tendency to make the Lebanese entirely responsible for the massacre. However, no manoeuvres and ploys can conceal the fact which is now glaringly clear: Begin, Sharon and their entourage bear the bulk of responsibility for the tragedy in the Palestinian refugee camps. It was the Israeli invasion of Lebanon that created conditions for genocide against the Palestinian people. None other than Israel sent special paratrooper units on the eve of the massacre to the area in close proximity of the camps and Israeli searchlights illumined the scene of the gory crime.

The Israeli cutthroats' American backers, who showed a "very reserved" reaction to the results of the inquiry, will not evade responsibility for Sabra and Shatila either. Massive evidence shows that the Americans knew of the atrocity that was in the making and of the sinister plans of Tel Aviv, which had consulted its strategic ally, Washington, before going through with them.

There are those in the West who are not averse to praising "democracy" in Israel in the context of the results of the inquiry. It should be recalled on this context that the main aim for the establishment of the commission was to dampen the wave of strong indignation all over the world following the mass killings in Sabra and Shatila. At the same time the facts of the involvement of the Begin-Sharon clique in the atrocious crime are so obvious that the commission has merely been forced to admit them, at least partially.

IZVESTIYA REFUTES 'CANARD' ON RDF IN JORDAN

LD082105 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 8 Feb 83

["Unseemly Falsehood" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 8 TASS -- THE WASHINGTON POST has told its readers about a secret U.S. plan to station a "Rapid Deployment Force" in Jordan. The force is supposedly going to consist of two Jordanian brigades trained and equipped by the United States, the newspaper IZVESTIYA writes today. Having staffed [as received] its report with such intriguing terms and expressions as "secret," "politically explosive" and "rapid deployment miniforce," the newspaper is at the same time trying to reassure the Arabs by saying that the force is being set up, first, to maintain stability in Jordan, second, to defend Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates and, third, with a view to its possible role in interarab wars.

Is it a sensation? Far from it, IZVESTIYA stresses, it is merely another newspaper canard which only had three days to live. Jordanian information minister 'Adnam Abu 'Awdah has stated that THE WASHINGTON POST report is nonsense and a figment of imagination from beginning to end. As for the reason behind this falsehood, the newspaper itself has said that Jordan is very important to the Reagan plan of establishing peace in the Middle East.

The strategem for dragging Jordan into talks as it was conceived in Washington is not so very complex, IZVESTIYA says. According to CBS, during the latest visit of King Husayn to the United States he was promised F-20 planes and air defence missiles Stinger. But if talks get under way, it is alleged, Husayn may get two squadrons of F-16 aircraft and mobile missiles Hawk. So it is to back these promises, which the Jordanian leaders may disbelieve, that the American newspaper floated another canard with the obvious purpose of compromising Jordan before the rest of the Arab world and pushing it into the road of separate deals, IZVESTIYA notes. It is a threadbare ploy that Washington still is fond of and uses it on a large scale.

ARREST OF IRANIAN CP MEMBERS REPORTED

NC101415 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1200 GMT 10 Feb 83

[Text] News agencies have reported that a number of Iranian Tudeh party leaders, headed by Nureddin Kianuri, first secretary of the party Central Committee, have been arrested in Tehran.

TUDEH OFFICIAL ON ISLAM AS REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY

WALL11636 Moscow PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 72-78

[Article by Ehsan Tabari, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Iran People's Party (Tudeh): "The Role of Religion in Our Revolution"]

[Text] Two religious currents have been delineated in the course of the social battles of recent decades in Iran. The first may be characterized as traditional and conservative. It is directed in the main by the prominent clergy, the majority of which has occupied a privileged position in society. The representatives of this current declare as "blasphemy" and false interpretations of religion all attempts to take its tenets as a basis in the implementation of progressive sociopolitical transformations. According to them, religion and faith have no relationship to "secular" affairs; the performance of religious rites is more important, they say, than performance of social and patriotic duty; it is necessary, they say, to be reconciled with the antihumane capitalist system and humbly bow before it as before the will of the "Most High" and predestination.

The other current is connected with the revolutionary assertiveness of the masses. This is not a new phenomenon in history. Religion, as K. Marx put it, is the "sigh of oppressed creatures" and a protest against the "real poverty" of this world. [See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 1, p 415.] F. Engels observed that religion both in antiquity and in the medieval period was repeatedly the ideological banner of social movements or their philosophy of life. And this is explained by the fact that in his individual or social actions man needs a philosophy of life, while in those times society knew only one form of ideology -- the religious form. We would recall also that Engels distinguished such a form of religious heresy in the precapitalist era as the "plebeian-revolutionary" form, which was hateful to the burgher heretics even. [Ibid., vol 21, pp 294, 314.]

In our time religious ideology is still very strong in a number of oriental countries. Some of the prominent and petty clergy who are not indifferent to the fate of their people are participating actively in their social and political struggle. Justifying their position, they believe that the prophets and religious leaders in the past did not act in the interests of the pharaohs, caesars and kings but always opposed social oppressors and enslavers. These confessors proclaim that religion, which has become a purely venerative world outlook far from the acute problems of our time and neutral in respect of them and which remains silent about money-grubbing, oppression, parasitism and the kindling of wars, has betrayed its true essence.

The experience of liberation movements, including the most recent experience, testifies that in countries where religion acts as the main ideology shared by the masses, the social and national liberation struggle may develop in a religious form and under religious slogans. This is, naturally, caused by concrete socio-historical factors.

The question arises: why 14 centuries since the emergence of Islam and after the many tests, great and small, to which those of its views which served as the banner of the people's struggle have been put in the course of history was the present current, termed in Iran "revolutionary Islam," able to play at the end of the 1970's such an impressive part in the development of the anti-imperialist movement in our country?

The answer should be sought in the singularities of the modern era and the possibilities born of it for liberation, anti-imperialist movements. Awakening from medieval slumber and apathy, the destitute masses are rising up to the struggle against local and foreign oppressors. The aspiration to peace, independence, freedom and salvation from exploitation has changed from a utopian dream to a really practicable task. The ideals perceived in the past in this way or the other by the religious dogma of Islam have sparkled with new facets in the light of our era and become an effective ideological force.

Imperialism and reaction are endeavoring to smash the progressive and revolutionary movements, including those operating under Islamic slogans, or to emasculate their content and direct them onto the path of confrontation with communism and social progress. They are using for their purposes, in particular, powerful and wealthy religious organizations controlled by the reactionary clergy. In a number of Islamic countries the ruling circles are turning religion into a means of strengthening the positions of imperialism and the local exploiters. Counterrevolutionary forces and the opponents of democratic transformations are concealing themselves behind the "holy war in the name of Islam" slogan.

Thus in our era the sociopolitical role of religion, including Islam, is by no means synonymous. However, it seems important to emphasize that religion serves in certain countries as the ideological basis of class struggle and in a number of instances as the world outlook of revolutionary forces or is an integral part thereof. It can hardly be denied that Islam has contributed to the development of the movement of the millions-strong masses of believers struggling for their liberation from despotism, oppression and foreign domination. We are witness to the effective and influential role which religious forces are performing in the revolution in Iran and also that performed at the time of the recent events at the al-Aqsa Mosque in occupied Palestine and so forth. In other words, the content of the process of historical development has now been manifested in religious form also. For Marxists it is perfectly natural that the liberation revolution assumes various forms in accordance with the conditions of time and place. Experience shows that the revolutions which have occurred since WWII have been extraordinary diverse not only from the viewpoint of the motive forces, methods of action, rate of development and prospects but also from that of ideology and also the nature of the forces which have headed the mass movement. This fact cautions us against schematic thinking and prompts us to further study of the "science of revolution."

In many respects it is significant that the ideological-organizing role which religion performs at times in the revolutionary movements of the distant historical past has been manifested with a new thrust under current conditions. Let us turn to the experience of Iran.

The long struggle of Iranian working people and revolutionary forces reached its apogee and was crowned with the victory of the revolution in 1979 (1357 according to the solar hijrah calendar). This revolution -- anti-imperialist, antidictatorial and popular -- occurred under the slogans of Islam and under the leadership of Iran's most famous religious figure -- Imam Khomeini. The following are its most characteristic and closely interconnected singularities:

the extensive participation of the working people's masses of city and countryside on a hitherto unprecedented scale;

the movement of the masses is making its mark on the course and content of the revolution, posing the question of the implementation of social transformations which go beyond the framework of the capitalist system. This is causing an embittered reaction among the supporters of capitalism and the defenders of class privilege;

the revolution is profoundly anti-imperialist and, in particular, acutely anti-American; and

Islam serves as the ideology of the revolution.

Were we not to examine these singularities compositely, that is, take them outside of the connection with the overall changes in today's world and the history of the Iranian people's struggle, certain aspects of the Iranian revolution might either be not understood or misinterpreted.

The organic interweaving of the above-mentioned singularities of the Iranian revolution was manifested in the very course of it. The first protests against the shah's regime, which served as the start of the revolution, occurred in January-February 1978 ([bekhmen] 1356). They were organized by students of the seminary in Qom as a sign of protest against insults to Imam Khomeini in articles carried in court newspapers. The Qom students were supported by the population of Tabriz. It was followed by the inhabitants of other cities and villages.

Street clashes lasted throughout the year, right up to 11 February 1979 (22 [bekhmen] 1357). Increasingly broad masses became involved in them day after day. The class composition of the participants in the protests changed increasingly in favor of the working people. Their numbers grew constantly. On certain days millions of men, women and children demonstrated in the streets. The protests occurred not only in the cities but in many of the most remote villages also. Such active and selfless participation of the working people's masses in the revolutionary movement was unprecedented for our country.

With the increased scale of the working people's involvement in the revolution and their activeness the slogans under which these protests were conducted acquired an increasingly popular character. At the start of the revolution they were of predominantly antidespotic and liberal content -- within the framework of the demands of bourgeois democracy. Such slogans were supported by some Iranian capitalists, particularly the traditional bourgeoisie (the "bazaar"), which hoped to capture the leadership of the movement and confine it to half-baked and political reforms of class collaboration. But as the revolution developed, the working people's masses put forward their social demands, and with every passing day it was suffused with increasingly rich and profound popular content. In what was this manifested?

As is known, an anti-imperialist movement against the oil monopolies and for nationalization of the oil industry led by Dr Mohammed Mossadeq developed in Iran in 1951-1953. It was crushed as a result of a coup d'etat organized by the CIA.

Between the revolution of 22 [bekhmen] and the coup of 28 [mordad] (August 1953) was more than quarter of a century. However, the people, who had suffered the consequences of this coup and opposed the Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi regime, had not forgotten the failure of the movement and had taken account of its experience and lessons in their struggle. Three main ones should be highlighted.

First, the movement headed by Mossadeq separated the anti-imperialist struggle from social transformations. It attempted to accomplish its goals without toughing the social structure of society, preserving the privileges of the big landowners and capitalists and even endeavoring to enlist these classes in participation in the movement. It was this fact which was among the reasons for the defeat. In the final years of the shah's rule the destitute masses and their conscious representatives, who had experience of the defeat of the Mossadeq movement, saw with their own eyes to what ruinous consequences the development of comprador capital would lead. They understood that the social essence of the shah's regime was inseparably connected with its political, economic and military dependence on imperialism. Recognition of this fact was manifested, in particular, in the fact that it was usually the banks and major establishments of comprador capital which were hit at the time of the street demonstrations.

Second, while opposed to British imperialism, the representatives of the Iranian liberal bourgeoisie nonetheless hoped for the support of the United States. And now, a quarter of a century later, they attempted to direct the revolution of 22 [bekhmen] into the channel of class collaboration with U.S. imperialism. However, the people's masses and the acknowledged leaders of the movement, particularly Khomeini, were vigilant and did not fall into the trap. Having begun as an antidespotic movement, the revolutionary movement immediately assumed a profoundly anti-imperialist, primarily anti-American, character.

Third, the struggle for nationalization of the oil was incapable of securing the alliance of all revolutionary forces of that time. The movement was defeated mainly owing to their division. This experience was right before the eyes of the Iranian people. And they selflessly endeavored to preserve the unity of their ranks in the confrontation with the shah's regime, preventing splittist activity, whatever the screen with which it concealed itself. The alliance of revolutionary forces and the people which existed in the revolution of 22 [bekhmen] was a phenomenon which was unprecedented for Iranian society.

Obviously, the most significant singularity of the Iranian revolution was the role of Islamic ideology. The factors which brought about this singularity are numerous, and a detailed examination of them goes beyond the framework of this article. But it remains a fact that the revolutionary movement began, as mentioned earlier, with the religious city of Qom and the seminary (the Medres) as a protest against insults to Imam Khomeini. And right up to this day this religious figure is the undisputed leader of the revolutionary people's masses.

It is the religious-Islamic appearance of the Iranian revolution which sometimes overshadows other of its aspects and singularities and also sociopolitical content. At the same time, however, this singularity of our revolution is giving rise to a variety of fluctuations, deviations and distortions. This is why we analyze events thoroughly, endeavoring to distinguish in their intricate interweave the arterial direction of development.

A survey of the events of the 4 years which have elapsed since the revolution of 22 [bekhmen] may be of assistance in understanding this problem. A bitter class struggle inseparably connected with counteracting imperialist plots, which has assumed unprecedented seriousness, has been under way throughout these years within the Iranian revolutionary movement.

The Iranian liberal bourgeoisie, which participated in the revolutionary movement, hoped to confine it to the framework of its own interests. Donning the garb of Islam, it captured an appreciable chunk of power. The Provisional Islamic Government was formed mainly from representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie, which advocated a one-sided orientation toward close cooperation with U.S. imperialism. Defenders of capital constituted a considerable proportion of the Islamic Revolutionary Council. They endeavored not to destroy the shah's machinery of state and put it to their own service. The people who took office (from Bazargan through Ghotbzadeh and Bani-Sadr) had long been involved in religious activity and were known in Iran as "true Muslims." However, virtually the day following the formation of the Provisional Government a struggle began between "Bazargani Islam" and "Khomeini Islam." Bazargan declared that he had erred "thrice three" times in having carried out the revolution. Khomeini, however, proclaimed that the revolution had only just begun, was at the start of its path and must continue.

Many political groupings, prominent figures linked with imperialism and representatives of the class collaborationist and capitulationist liberal bourgeoisie have been exposed and expelled from the political arena in the years since the victory of the revolution. Bazargan, Bani-Sadr, Madani, Nazih and Ghotbzadeh, [For participation in an anti-government conspiracy Ghotbzadeh was sentenced to death and executed.] National Front leaders like Sanjabi and others have been removed from the highest government positions. Many important Shi'ite religious figures who openly or secretly, directly or indirectly opposed Khomeini have been defeated. The very important Shi'ite religious figure, Kazem Shariat-Madari, was removed from his position following accusations of involvement in a conspiracy against Imam Khomeini and the revolution and was condemned by the people's masses.

What has happened in this time is, we believe, typical in its content of the class struggle which has ensued in the course of all revolutions like the Iranian revolution -- a struggle between the privileged classes and the destitute masses and between the

liberal appeasers and the revolutionary democrats -- although this struggle also assumed a religious form. Let us take a look at the aspects which are noteworthy and deserving of contemplation in which Islamic ideology has made its mark on the class struggle in Iran.

All the currents participating in the struggle for power present themselves as the "most devout" Muslims and the "sole custodians" of Islam, and Bazargan, Bani-Sadr, Ghotbzadeh, Shariat-Madari and others say that they are the truest purveyors and defenders of Islam and even theorists of the "Islamic revolution" and that they understand Islam better than anyone. In other Islamic countries the supporters and opponents of the Iranian revolution also determine their attitude toward it from the standpoints of the Muslim faith. Various interpretations of Islam emerge as a result. New terms are being inserted in the religious-political dictionary: "American Islam" "King Khaled's Islam," "Sadat's Islam," "Zia ul-Haq's Islam" and "pseudoclergy." Many Iranian Muslims counterpose "Khomeini Islam" to all this.

The interpretations of Islam provide different evaluations of the most important social categories -- property, exploitation, the class essence of the state and so forth. For example, the question of property and its form and limits is broached during the weekly Friday prayers. The supporters of the capitalists and feudal lords quote tenets which say that Islam does not recognize limits on property. The call on the "Islamic revolution" in Iran not to encroach on the property of the big landowners and capitalists. Reflecting the mood of the working people, religious figures object, claiming that the property of the big capitalists and feudal lords which has been amassed by robbery, money-grubbing and usury are contrary to Islam and should be done away with. The "Islamic revolution," according to them, is called on to establish social justice.

Khomeini acts mainly in defense of the interests of the masses of working people and the destitute. He says that it is the destitute who are "God's successors" on earth and that the Islamic revolution and Islamic power belong to them. Multimillion-strong masses of inhabitants of cities and villages accept this interpretation of Islam. They support Khomeini as a counterweight to the feudal lords and capitalists and defend the revolutionary advanced by the lickspittles of imperialism.

Of course, not everything is proceeding smoothly. Not to mention the fact that imperialism headed by the United States is organizing secret and open provocations and conspiracies and creating every conceivable kind of difficulty, the religious ideology itself is causing problems. For example, at a time of the most bitter class political struggle the question of women wearing the [khedzhab] [A kind of veil which, as Islam prescribes, has to be worn by women.] is, wittingly or unwittingly, being made a basic issue. Attempts are being made on the pretext of combating "heretical" ideology to channel the protests not against imperialism and capitalism but against the progressive parties and the socialist countries; the kindling of religious fanaticism is exacerbating the political situation in the country even further.

Fascistizing groupings, which have assumed an Islamic appearance, are also a potential danger. Religious fanaticism is preparing the ground for their activity. Insofar as the Iranian revolution as yet lacks a strong political organization enjoying the trust of the people, whose leadership it would assume, the possibility exists that the fascistizing groupings will avail themselves of a suitable opportunity at a time of the confusion of the masses.

The depth of the Iranian revolution and its singularities connected with Islam and the bitter class struggle within the movement are creating numerous complexities, which is making an understanding of its different aspects more difficult. The extremist, leftist and Maoist groupings, which are influential in certain circles of the intelligentsia, are revolutionary in word, but bourgeois in deed and have not grasped the essence of what is going on in the country. While talking about the struggle against "religious reaction" they have in practice proven themselves to be in the positions of

reactionary religion, alongside the Bazarganis and alongside the United States. However, having made a scientific analysis of the course of the revolution, Iran's true Marxists have chosen the correct policy, which is based on a nondogmatic, nonschematic understanding of the effect of the laws of society's development under the specific conditions of emergent countries.

A characteristic socio-historical phenomenon has been revealed in these countries, ours included. The roots of precapitalist structures still exist here, and capitalism was introduced with the aid of colonialism, and now neocolonialism. As a consequence comprador capital and also the economy and culture which it introduced exist as "social enclaves," lack strength in general and are not assimilated by all of society. This economy and culture is not, thus, a natural result of the internal development of the society itself and, by virtue of many singularities, causes discontent among different social strata.

The problem here is that the European bourgeoisie, particularly since the French Revolution, has had an opportunity to gradually bring society's political-legal superstructure into line with its requirements, regardless of religion and the church. In the developing countries, however, Iran included, the picture is different. The comprador bourgeoisie here borrowed culture from imperialist capitalism and transferred it to national soil in, for the most part, superficial and imitative form. However, in Iran, for example, not only the absolute majority of the working people of city and village but also part of the traditional bourgeoisie (the "bazaar") and also the petty bourgeoisie remain adherents to the religious superstructure, to what is called "Islamic enlightenment." In the plebeian masses [The working people's strata of city and village in Iran, despite the quantitative and qualitative growth of the working class, have preserved in their way of thinking and conduct many of the features inherent in the medieval plebeian masses.] religion lives on, as before. Part of the "bazaar" bourgeoisie has even ignored official taxation laws and paid taxes in accordance with Islamic law (fiqh) to the clergy.

Great influence on directing the popular discontent into a religious channel and "politicizing" the religious sentiments of the working people's masses has been exerted by Khomeini himself. He has declared that Islam in the form in which it is set forth in the Koran puts the fulfillment of social duties higher than Muslims' observance of rites and rituals; for this reason people who separate Islam from politics either have not understood it or are falsifying it. Khomeini selects the sayings of the Koran and tenets of Islam which serve to establish social justice to the benefit of the destitute and to the detriment of the oppressors. He speaks of a "holy war" against oppression and despotism and calls for self-sacrifice in the struggle for the just cause. His prominent role in the Iranian revolution is determined by the fact that he was able to turn religion from a means of "lulling" to a means "stimulating" the assertiveness of the masses.

The line of "revolutionary Islam" differs considerably from that of "traditional Islam" and has greater opportunities for gaining the upper hand. The supporters of the first hope on the paths of social transformations to impart magnetic force to Islamic ideology and turn it into an instrument of transformations throughout the Muslim world. We are proceeding from the fact that the future will provide the answer to the question of the extent to which the ideology of "revolutionary Islam" is capable of catering for the material and spiritual requirements of a society thirsting for independence, freedom, justice and progress.

The Iran People's Party supports all the positive trends in this movement headed by religious figures, candidly expressing its views in the form of constructive and friendly criticism. It is participating selflessly in labor and struggle, proving, where possible, its fidelity to the people's cherished aspirations, in whatever form they are manifested. Counterrevolutionary elements are trying in every way possible to impede us and knock us down from our high-minded position. But unsuccessfully.

The process of the awakening and politicization of the masses in Iran is continuing to develop, despite the plots of imperialism and counterrevolution impeding this process. As far as the prospects of the revolution are concerned, we believe that its development in breadth and in depth will largely depend on the practical implementation of the demands put forward by our party in the sphere of socioeconomic transformations and the anti-imperialist struggle. The changes in the world arena to the detriment of imperialism and war could, we believe, play the part of a factor conducive to the accelerated maturation of the Iranian revolution and its further intensification. Considering the direction of global historical development and the growing awakening of the masses, our party looks to the future with optimism.

At the 26th CPSU Congress the revolution in Iran was characterized as a major event in the international life of recent years, and its anti-imperialist thrust and at the same time its complexity and contradictory nature were noted. [See "Material of the 26th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1981, p 13.]

Proceeding from the evaluations of our party, we pointed earlier to certain factors causing this complexity and contradictoriness and also to concrete manifestations. I would like to make additional clarifications, having studied the concrete alignment of forces among Iranian Muslims.

In view of the membership of different social classes and strata and, furthermore, because of the different and sometimes opposite social interests in this environment, there is no unity in comprehension of the problems, directions and goals of the revolution. In respect of it it is possible to pick out the following groups of Muslims, recognizing here that any classification has its shortcomings:

the counterrevolutionary elements hiding behind Islamic ideas. They are attempting to "capture the fortress from within" and are distorting the tasks of the revolution. Revolutionary Muslims sometimes term these forces "penetrated hostile elements." As of the present some of them who held important positions and had high-sounding titles have, as already said, been exposed and expelled;

religious dogmatists who defend the system based on capitalism and large-scale land-owning and also other forms of exploitation. They believe that large-scale landowning and capitalist exploitation are compatible with the principles of Islam and the tenets of the fiqh;

numerous representatives of the petty bourgeoisie of city and countryside who perceive religious ideology in a traditional-dogmatic framework. In this way or the other they themselves support the revolution, but could be deceived by the above-named groupings;

revolutionary Muslims who in the context of economic problems support the ideas of catering for the people's needs and the need for progress. They believe that the "Islamic revolution" will not be able to retain its trust if it does not effect radical reforms in the interests of the people. For this reason they champion the implementation of such transformations, opposing the supporters of exploitation, but aspire in the political sphere to the monopolization of power and limitation of the activity of other revolutionaries; and

revolutionary Muslims who occupy a popular, progressive position not only in the economic respect but also reject monopolism and sectarianism in the political respect. They believe that without the unity of all genuinely revolutionary forces -- Muslims and other progressive political groupings, including those with a platform of scientific socialism -- the Iranian revolution will not be able to strengthen its positions in the struggle against imperialism and counterrevolution and will be unable to go forward.

The leftist groupings in Iran, which are joining up with the blackest reaction, which were mentioned earlier, do not accept such evaluations. They "drive all with a single stick," as the Persian saying goes, and reject in principle any possibility of the use

of religious ideology for the purpose of progress in our era. Any form of it is indiscriminately termed by them reactionary, medieval ideology, "ideology of the backward, traditional petty bourgeoisie," which is disposed to fascism, reactionary primitivism and hatred of what is foreign. They assert that there is no such concept as "Islamic revolutionary ideology" nor can there be and that religion performs a completely reactionary and antipopular role and that Iran's experience testifies to its defeat. These "leftists" propagandize the need for the forcible overthrow of the Islamic republic. It should be said that they have succeeded in attracting to their side many honest young, but inexperienced anti-imperialist fighters.

The leftist-extremist groupings provide the right with a pretext and grounds for portraying people who share a Marxist-Leninist world outlook as the accursed enemies of the Muslims and opponents of the Iranian revolution (in contrast to the true supporters of the imam, who call the United States the "great Satan," regarding American imperialism as the main enemy). However, the Iran People's Party has nothing in common with the leftist groupings and the views they propagandize. Our party supports the revolution. For the right, however, there exists an abstract "communism" in general, which is allegedly the enemy of Islam. It is from the milieu of the right that the slogans hostile to world socialism and the Iran People's Party are advanced in the main. The reactionary and counterrevolutionary clergy asserts that the main direction of policy should be anticommunism and that the supporters of the communist world outlook must be driven out as most dangerous "detractors of God."

Naturally, under these conditions Marxist-Leninists are confronted with exceptionally difficult tasks. The capacity for a creative approach, concentration, great patience, the impermissibility of confusion and recognition of the fact that the development of the revolution is impossible without the enlistment of intermediate strata, that these strata will come to the revolution with their own beliefs and "prior concepts" and that imperialism and counterrevolutionaries will not retreat from their positions simply and soon and will not renounce their interests, even less in a country such as Iran -- without all this it is impossible to be a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist in the concrete situation of Iran. The members of our party are endeavoring to demonstrate maturity of thinking, stanchness of revolutionary character, political perspicacity and a capacity for opposing sophistry and calumny. It is possible that this "particular situation" will not arise in other countries, in which revolution is accomplished with the help of secular ideologies, but the reproduction of some of its singularities is possible.

So, it is a question of renunciation of a dogmatic approach, sectarianism and subjectivism and of fervor and "organized patriotism," which is harming common interests and the revolutionary movement; of an ability to be where the masses are, to recognize the distinctiveness and provide a correct evaluation of the experience of the Iranian revolution and to understand its complexity and contradictoriness and its wealth of content as parts of the revolutionary process in the modern world and of tackling a most important task of all detachments of Iran's revolutionary forces -- strengthening unity and overcoming disagreements. The Iran People's Party is paying serious attention to all these questions.

Difficulties are being created not only by counterrevolutionaries, extremist groupings of right and "left," imperialism and agents of its espionage organizations. While wishing to comprehend the true state of affairs in Iran after the revolution, honest Muslims themselves are still novices in affairs of state. It will take a long time for them to acquire experience and to learn to distinguish between the friends and enemies of the revolution in their country and abroad. This is no simple matter under the conditions of the offensive of the opponents of the revolution along the entire front.

The socialist and emergent countries, the workers' revolutionary parties and other progressive organizations have rendered and continue to render the Iranian revolution assistance in the face of the incessant imperialist conspiracies. At the same time research workers sometimes express opinions and assessments which proceed, we believe, from a superficial understanding of its problems. This is why, while recognizing that our experience has special features (which, possibly, will not be repeated elsewhere), we believe it useful to share it in PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA and tell the friends of the Iranian people about what experience of the revolution is teaching us.

SOVIET OFFICIAL ASSESSES TRADE WITH BRAZIL

PY052016 Moscow in Portuguese to Brazil 2200 GMT 4 Feb 83

[Excerpts] Dear listeners: Today we are going to broadcast the second part of an article by Nikolay Zinovyev, head of the Department for Trade with Latin American Countries of the Soviet Foreign Trade Ministry, who assessed the present situation and future prospects of Soviet-Brazilian trade relations.

Nikolay Zinovyev states:

Throughout the 20 years of Brazilian-Soviet trade relations, the two parties have established the necessary legal bases to carry out trade relations on a basis of mutual advantage. For example, for the supply of Soviet equipment to Brazil, the parties may rely on the agreement signed on 24 March 1975 which establishes a 10-year payment period. Moreover, the credit that was granted under advantageous terms and the sums resulting from the sale of equipment may be used by the Soviets to purchase Brazilian-made products. Therefore, the sale of Brazilian products will increase the possibility of supplying Soviet technical know-how to Brazil. This is what both parties have decided in the construction of the Sobradinho hydroelectric plant.

Nikolay Zinovyev notes that in keeping with the objective of the development of bilateral trade, in July 1981, both parties signed a long-term agreement for the purchase of such products as soybeans, cocoa, vegetable oil and cocoa byproducts from Brazil, while [word indistinct] potassium, nickel and aluminum will be purchased from the Soviet Union.

The results of this agreement in the first year have shown that Soviet foreign trade organizations have fulfilled their obligations and in some cases have surpassed them.

Unfortunately the same cannot be said about the purchase of Soviet products by Brazilian enterprises. Moreover, in view of the high level of development of Brazilian industry, both parties believe [words indistinct] cooperation field with better prospects. The foreign trade organization [word indistinct] can offer licenses for the production of steel ingots [escavador de rotores equipamentos horizontal de lingotes continuo de aco], for prospecting for [words indistinct] of gas and oil technology for the production of foundry equipment; etc.

I also wanted to add that throughout 20 years of trade relations, there have been changes regarding quality and quantity. Trade has increased over 8 times; its nomenclature has changed; new forms of trade have been introduced.

The level that has been achieved, the future development of relations on the bases of reciprocal respect, mutual advantages and in keeping with reciprocal interests, will benefit the people of Brazil and the Soviet Union.

BRIEFS

ORDER OF FRIENDSHIP AWARDED -- By decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Arnaldo Milian Castro, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the country, has been awarded the Order of the Friendship of the People. This marks his great services to the development of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Cuba and his 70th birthday. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Feb 83 LD]

ANDROPOV HOLDS MEETING WITH MOSCOW WORKERS

PM100941 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Feb 83 p 1

[Unattributed "Word to the Reader"]

[Text] January -- The first month of this, the third year of the 5-year plan -- has drawn to a close. This is a pivotal year for all industrial working people. The January results show that many labor collectives are fully determined to make 1983 a year of unstinting labor. The omissions of the first years of the 5-year plan are to be made up and the conditions for steady work in the last two years are to be created. Improving the quality of work, speeding it up, and making output cheaper are now urgent tasks for every sector and every labor collective.

In the meeting which took place the other day between Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Moscow machine-tool builders, the working people of the plant described in a frank and informal atmosphere how they are implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the CPSU Central Committee November plenum, the steps they are taking to ensure the successful fulfillment of this year's strenuous plans and pledges, and the existing difficulties. Plant Director N. S. Chikirev said: The machine-tool builders can see their shortcomings, know how to combat them and are confident they will cope with the great tasks facing the collective.

Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov stressed in his speech that the CPSU's Central Committee November plenum raised in acute terms the problem of the failure in a number of key areas of our economic activity to achieve the indicators set in the 5-year plan.

What we produce frequently costs us too much, and considerable overexpenditure of material, financial resources and excessive manpower costs are being allowed to occur. Labor productivity is increasing at a rate which cannot satisfy us nowadays. The task of doing everything possible to increase production efficiency has been set.

What must be done to achieve this? Scientific and technical progress must be accelerated and the achievements of science, technology, and progressive experience must be widely and swiftly introduced into production. The organization of production and management and the quality of work must be improved, and much more besides this must be done in order to produce output at minimum cost, of high quality, quickly and to good standards.

But we must start by strengthening discipline.

This is the link which must be grasped in order to draw out the whole chain.

"We need a conscious worker discipline which will advance production," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said. "We must give the struggle for discipline great expression and relate it directly to the fulfillment of production targets, and then it will not fizzle out, as it were. What was outlined by the CPSU Central Committee November plenum will be fulfilled."

Discipline is a broad concept. It means more than just preventing absenteeism and late arrival at work, although this is an important aspect of it.

Creating the necessary conditions in production to ensure it is efficiently planned and is provided with material and technical supplies and well-tuned equipment is an integral part of strengthening discipline. Both production and plan discipline must be strengthened. The issue of the struggle for discipline concerns everyone -- workers, engineering and technical personnel, ministers and scientists. The effect of increasing discipline must be felt in every element of production and the necessary order must be established everywhere.

The strengthening of discipline is demanded by life. For without proper discipline -- labor, plan, and state -- progress cannot be made. Establishing discipline requires no capital investment and yields enormous dividends. The absentee, shoddy workman, and loafer harms not so much himself as he harms the collective and society as a whole, it was stressed at the meeting.

The leading role in the struggle to strengthen discipline is that of working people's collectives. The more cohesive and harmonious a labor collective is, and the stronger labor traditions and comradely mutual assistance are in it, the greater its scope for combating breaches of discipline and order and for fostering a conscious attitude to work. Valuable experience in this respect has been amassed at the Volga automobile plant association, which is for practically everyone a school of efficiency and good coordination in this work at every level guarantees the giant Togliatti automobile plant's success.

Many labor collectives in Moscow have achieved good results. Together with other Moscow enterprises, the collective of the Sergo Ordzhonikidze machine tool building plant has launched an initiative to improve labor organization and increase labor and production discipline. It has been decided to increase labor productivity by at least 1.5-2 percent in 1983 by reducing lost working time.

In conversation with Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, V.P. Chayka, veteran drill operator at the plant, spoke about the atmosphere in the collective, pointing out: "I am appreciated here. People say lots of nice things. I've been at the plant since 1942, when I started as a 15-year-old girl -- I will work at the plant as long as I have the strength."

Respect for those who work conscientiously and creatively, strict demands on the negligent, and open and frank condemnation of them are the soil in which firm discipline grows.

The warm and heartfelt conversation between the plant's workers and leaders and Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the thoughts expressed in it are addressed to us all, comrades. They confirm that the CPSU Central Committee November plenum decisions have prompted a lively response in every labor collective and touched on the interests of all honest people ready to further strengthen the might of our socialist motherland through their unstinting labor.

It is the duty of party committees, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and economic leaders to pay close heed to the voice of the working people, to create a climate of general exactingness and of the principled assessment of cases of an unconscientious attitude to work on the part of any working person, irrespective of the position held. Each person in his job must feel himself to be a public servant [gosudarstvennyy chelovek] and must take every step he can to further intensify labor and increase the efficiency of social production.

CORRECTION TO ANDROPOV MEETING WITH WORKERS

The following correction pertains to the item entitled "PRAVDA Reports Andropov Meeting With Workers," published in the 2 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages R 1-8:

page R 2, paragraphs thirteen and fourteen read:

M.F. Skripkin: Enough.

Yu. V. Andropov: How big...(deleting words "R380 with my pension")

COMPARISON TO ANDROPOV MEETING WITH WORKERS

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 February First Edition page 1 carries a report on a visit by Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Moscow's Sergo Ordzhonikidze machine tool building plants -- date not specified. The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA report has been compared with the 1 February PRAVDA version published in the 2 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages R 1-8, revealing the following variation:

page R 2, paragraphs thirteen and fourteen read:

M.F. Skripkin: Enough; R380 with my pension.

Yu. V. Andropov: How big...(adding words "R380 with my pension")

The above variation does not appear in either edition of PRAVDA, in the second edition of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA or in any of the other Soviet central dailies.

RECENT LEADER APPEARANCES, ACTIVITIES REPORTEDKuznetsov Addresses Institute Officials

LD100352 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1850 GMT 9 Feb 83

[Text] Chairmen of gorispolkoms and people's deputies of republican, kray and oblast centers completed their studies at the institute for improving qualification of senior party executive and administrative personnel [institut povysheniya kvalifikatsii rukovodyashchikh partiynykh i sovetskikh kadrov] of the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences. They were studying topical issues of theory and practice in the building of communism, and international activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state during one month. Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke to the students. Reports were made by Promyslov, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom; Zaykov, chairman of the Leningrad Gorispolkom; and others.

The students studied many questions of economic policy and exchanged working experiences on implementing the decisions of the 26th party congress and of the 1982 May and November CPSU Central Committee plenums.

Kuznetsov Presents State Honors

LD102105 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1850 GMT 10 Feb 83

[Text] Comrade Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented state awards to a group of civil aviation workers in the Kremlin today. The awards presented were Orders of Lenin and Hammer and Sickle gold medals of Hero of Socialist Labor, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium certificates bestowing the honorary titles USSR Merited Pilot and USSR Merited Navigation, and chest badges. On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government, Comrade Kuznetsov warmly congratulated the aviators on their awards and on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Soviet civil aviation. He wished them fresh successes in their labor for the benefit of the socialist homeland.

GRISHIN ADDRESSES ORGANIZATIONS, CELEBRATIONS

Grishin Addresses Raykom Officials

WA111630 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 82 p 1

[Speech by V.V. Grishin, first secretary of Moscow Gorkom and member of CPSU Politburo at the 14 December 82 meeting of Moscow Gorkom]

[Excerpts] A conference of the first secretaries of the party's rayon committees and chairmen of the executive committees of the rayon Soviets was held yesterday at the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU.

Participants in the conference included members and candidate members of the bureau of the CPSU MGK [Moscow Gorkom], party gorkom section chiefs, deputy chairmen of the Mossovet executive committee, and managers of main administrations and a number of administrations of the Mossovet executive committee, and city organizations.

A report on the organizational measures connected with the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR was given by I.B. Bugayev, chief of the CPSU MGK Department for Party-Organizational Work.

The political work and the artistic and political beautification of the city in connection with the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR was reported on by T.P. Arkhipova, chief of the CPSU MGK Propaganda and Agitation Department.

V.V. Grishin, First Secretary of CPSU MGK, spoke at the conference.

It was noted at the conference that all the measures that were set down by the party's city committee are being fulfilled within the established deadlines. They have been in the center of attention of the party, Soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations. The chief attention is being paid to the mobilizing of the workers for the successful implementation of the historic decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and the tasks that evolve from the speech made there by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. The Communist Party members and all the people of Moscow have been demonstrating their unshakable solidarity around their beloved party and its Central Committee. They unanimously support and approve the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the decisions of the November Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

According to an old, well-established tradition, Moscow meets historic dates by new achievements, by a broad sweep of socialist competition. It was emphasized that, in the competition in honor of this celebration, the initiators of which included Moscow, there are now more than 600,000 workers and specialists participating, 22,000 brigades, and hundreds of sectors and shops. Three hundred twenty thousand production workers fulfilled their personal annual assignments by 7 November, and 110,000 advanced workers are close to completing the plans for the first two years, or the first two and half years, of the five-year plan.

An important stage in the preparation of the people of Moscow for the festivities will be a communist subbotnik [mass volunteer-labor day] on 18 December. The preparation for it has been practically completed. The people of Moscow are planning to work on that day in a Leninist, shock-labor manner, without compensation. A large amount of output will be produced from economized raw and other materials, with energy resources that have been saved.

Sociopolitical readings were held in the city's rayons, in many organizations.

A single political day was devoted to explaining the decree of the CPSU Central Committee dealing with the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, the tasks that evolve from our party's decisions, and the mobilizing of the workers to fulfill them.

Approximately 20,000 speakers gave a presentation in 2000 collectives. Those speakers included responsible workers of the CPSU MGK, the Moscow ispolkom, MGSPS, secretaries of the party's raykoms, and chairmen of the rayon Soviets' ispolkoms. Two and a half million persons participated in the single political day.

A brilliant manifestation of the triumph of the Leninist national policy and the increasing strength of the friendship among the peoples of our country was provided by the final Union Republic Days at VDNKh SSSR [Exhibition of the Achievements of the USSR National Economy].

The preparation for the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR promotes the enrichment of content and the development of the forms of mass political work. On the basis of only the trip tickets for the "Znaniye" [Knowledge] Society, 50,000 lectures have been given in the capital, and more than 4000 scientists in the field of social studies have spoken. Approximately 1400 collective trips by lecturers have been made to labor collectives and to people's places of residence.

At the conference it was also mentioned that the party's rayon committees must take under their supervision the organizing of the workers' recreational time on holidays and the conducting of special evenings. More complete use must be made of the opportunities provided by the legitimate stage and motion-picture theaters, museums, palaces and houses of culture, and sports structures.

At the conference it was stated that the hotels are ready to receive the participants in the solemn session and the guests of the capital. Everything necessary has been done here to organize the everyday, communal, and medical services. The necessary steps have also been taken to improve the everyday services of the people of Moscow during the days before and during the holiday.

During 1982, 173 new enterprises of trade and public nutrition were opened in the capital, mainly in the areas of mass housing construction -- Yasenevo, Yuzhnoye Izmaylovo, Orekhovo-Borisovo, Teplyy Stan, and others. Capital repair has been carried out at more than 500 enterprises.

At the same time the conference pointed out the need to take additional steps aimed at raising the level of efficiency of the services provided, and of labor discipline, and to eliminate, during the days remaining until the holiday, the shortcomings that exist in this matter.

A large amount of work was carried out to guarantee the providing of transportation services to the people of Moscow and the city's guests. The airports and the city's air terminal, as well as the railroad stations, have been basically prepared to receive the delegations.

Corresponding measures have also been carried out by Glavmosgortrans and the Administration of Passenger-Car Transportation. It has been recommended to the administrators of the transportation organizations that they take additional steps to guarantee the providing of the planned number of pieces of rolling stock and to assure the precise observance of scheduled traffic along the transportation routes.

Glavmoszhilupravleniye and the rayon organizations are carrying out steps to improve the housing and communal services provided to the people of Moscow. In large volumes, especially in the central part of the city and on the main thoroughfares, the facades of the apartments and administrative and public buildings have been repaired.

The participants of the conference analyzed deeply and from all directions the preliminary results of the fulfillment of the year's plan in industry, in transportation, in construction, and in all branches of the city's national economy. They pointed out the need, during the time remaining, to take all the necessary steps to assure the unconditional fulfillment of the plans with regard to all the technical-economic indicators and the socialist pledges taken by every labor collective.

It is very important to extend more broadly the patriotic initiative that is of great importance to the national economy. Mention was made of the important undertaking of the collectives at the number of enterprises in industry, construction, and transportation in the capital, who pledged that they would assure the good working condition of every railroad car and container dispatched from the Moscow Railroad Junction.

It was pointed out that these questions must be constantly in the center of attention of the city and rayon organizations and the economic administrators. It is necessary to achieve a situation in which all the enterprises that use the services of the Moscow Junction, conclude contracts with the railroad for the repair of railroad cars and containers by using their own in-house methods.

A large amount of attention was devoted to questions linked with the implementation of the USSR Food Program and the fulfillment of the purchase orders sent in by agriculture and to the intensification of sponsorship aid provided to the rural workers.

Mention was made at the conference of the need to organize the development of, and the taking of, socialist pledges and counterplans by the workers, brigades, shops, sectors, and enterprise collectives for 1983, the core year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. It is very important to continue to take all steps to develop the initiative of the workers for the purposes of achieving the high final results.

The conference emphasized the need to observe socialist legality and to guarantee the proper public order in the city. It is necessary to increase the organizational spirit and to combat violators of production discipline, and instances of absenteeism which cause tangible losses to the national economy. It is necessary to make better use of psychological and material incentives, and to increase the demandingness toward cadres, and to everyone for the work sector that has been assigned to him.

Conveys Andropov Greetings

PM101139 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 83 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Improving the Style and Methods of Party Work: Conference of Secretaries of Moscow's Primary Party Organizations"]

[Excerpt] Yesterday a conference of secretaries of Moscow's primary party organizations, convened by Moscow CPSU Gorkom, was held at the V.I. Lenin Central Stadium's small sports arena.

The conference's participants discussed the question "on the results of report-and-election meetings and the tasks of Moscow city's primary party organizations in improving the standard of organizational and political work in the light of the decisions of the 26th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) plenum.

V.V. Grishin, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, delivered the report at the meeting. He said: Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, who was informed of the present conference, approved its convening and asked that greetings and good wishes be conveyed to the party organization secretaries and all activists of the Moscow party organization. He expressed the confidence that the party aktiv and the entire Moscow party organization will increase their efforts in the struggle to implement the decisions of the 26th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee November plenum, will mobilize the capital's working people to fulfill successfully the plans for 1983 and the entire 5-year plan, and will purposefully and energetically struggle to implement the tasks facing the party and the country at the present time.

Addresses Red Banner Celebrations

W110900 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 82 pp 1-2

[Speech by V.V. Grishin, first secretary of Moscow Gorkom and member of CPSU Politburo at Hours of Unions, 14 December 82]

[Excerpts] Yesterday a festive meeting was held in the Hall of Columns, of the House of Unions. The participants in the meeting were the party, Soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol activists, jointly with representatives of collectives of workers. The meeting was dedicated to the awarding to the city of Moscow of the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee, on the basis of the results of the All-Union Socialist Competition to Mark the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR.

The meeting was opened by L.V. Petrov, chairman of MGSPS [Moscow City Council of Trade Unions].

The Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee was handed over to representatives of the workers by Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers I.V. Arkhipov.

A speech was given at the meeting by V.V. Grishin, First Secretary of CPSU Moscow Gorkom.

Speakers at the meeting included: V.M. Kubrin, party committee secretary at the Machine-Tool-Building Plant imeni S. Ordzhonikidze; N.N. Onishchenko, garment cutter at the Parizhskaya Kommuna Factory; A.A. Gromov, combined-brigade leader at the Moszhilstroy Trust, Glavmosstroy, and Hero of Socialist Labor; and A.I. Manokhin, corresponding member of USSR Academy of Sciences, and director of the Institute of Metallurgy imeni Baykov.

The participants in the festive meeting accpeted with a large amount of enthusiasm the letter of greetings to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee.

Those who took part in the work of the meeting were: V.F. Promyslov, chairman of the Mossovet executive committee; R.F. Dement'yeva, B.V. Nikol'skiy, I.N. Ponomarev, and A.M. Roganov, secretaries of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom; AUCCTU Secretary I.I. Gladkiy; I.M. Cherepanov, secretary of the CPSU Moscow Oblast Party Committee; and V.I. Konstantinov, instructor at the CPSU Central Committee's Department of Party-Organizational Work.

In an atmosphere of a large amount of enthusiasm, the workers of Moscow are approaching the third year of the five-year plan. The people of Moscow have fulfilled ahead of schedule the production program for the first 11 months. In the course of shock-labor watches, more than 320,000 workers have already completed their personal assignments for the year.

The workers and all the inhabitants of the capital, V.V. Grishin said in his statement, have perceived with a large amount of inspiration the report that, on the basis of the results of the All-Union Socialist Competition for the Worthy Meeting of the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR, Moscow has been awarded the challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee. In the name of the party's Moscow City Committee, the Moscow Soviet of People's Deputies, and in the name of all the workers of the city, the speaker expressed the heart-felt gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Committee for the high evaluation placed on the labor performed by the people of Moscow and for the constant

concern for the social and economic development of the capital and for its having been converted into an exemplary communist city.

The movement for the economizing of labor, material, and energy resources has received broad scope at the enterprises. Profound concern for the attainment of high final results has dictated the initiatory actions of the capital's advance collectives, which actions are aimed at obtaining during the current five-year an above-plan increase in profit as a result of the reduction of the costs of producing the items. There has been a broader and broader extension of the fight to increase the production of consumer goods with high quality and to introduce technological processes involving small amounts of waste products.

The decree issued by the plenum and the speech given by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov defined the specific ways to resolve the problems that confront the country in 1983, the score year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee issued the instructions to direct all efforts at the realization of the very important task advanced by the 16th CPSU Congress -- the increased intensification of social production and the increase in the effectiveness of the national economy. It is planned to accelerate the rates of development of the economy and to increase the absolute amounts of increase in the national income, the output of industry and agriculture, and the volume of retail commodity turnover. The intensive assignments must be fulfilled with a comparatively smaller increase in the material and labor expenditures.

The major tasks posed by the party for achieving a buildup of the country's economic potential, for assuring the dynamic development of industry, agricultural production, transportation, construction, and the fuel and energy complex, the implementation of the Food Program, and the further rise in the material and cultural standard of living of the Soviet citizens, V.V. Grishin emphasized, have been perceived by the Communist Party members and all the workers of Moscow as a fighting program for practical activities for the period ahead of us.

The principles and conclusions stated in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov and the decisions of the Plenum are a guide for action for the party, Soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations and all the working collectives in the city with regard to the taking of all steps to improve the political organizing, and economic work that is aimed at the fulfillment of the current economic and political tasks and at the further reinforcement of the economy of the capital.

The workers of the capital have successfully begun the five-year plan and are working confidently also during the current year of celebration. The plan for the first 11 months of 1982 was fulfilled ahead of schedule. The amount of output produced in excess of assignment is valued at hundreds of millions of rubles. The entire increase in the volume of production was obtained as a result of increasing the labor productivity. There was a rise in the technical level and an improvement in the quality of articles. The share of output with a higher category of quality in the volume of articles to be warranted constitutes 44 percent.

The assignments for the second year of the five-year plan are being fulfilled in the field of construction, transportation, urban economy, science, and other branches. Large measures have been carried out to raise the standard of living of the people of Moscow. There has been a considerable expansion and renovation of the variety of consumer goods. The public-services sphere has received further development.

V.V. Grishin warmly congratulated the workers, engineers, technicians, and specialists, and all the collectives at enterprises and organizations, that were the winners in the socialists competition during the celebration year, on the successes that they had achieved and on having been awarded the Challenge Red Banners. He expressed his profound gratitude to all the working collectives in Moscow for the selfless, creative labor for the good of our great Motherland.

The awarding today to the people of Moscow of the Challenge Red Banner, the high evaluation placed on their labor, the speaker went on to say, gives the obligation of working even better, of making more complete use of the reserves, of waging a decisive struggle against various losses in production and against the existing shortcomings and of intensifying the struggle against manifestations of poor business practices.

We must make a demanding, critical evaluation of the results of our work. We must see the unresolved problems, as is required by the documents of the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Many difficulties which were noted at the Plenum also pertain to the Moscow enterprises and organizations. Our successes could have been even better if we had made better use of all the opportunities, if we had worked more decisively to eliminate the shortcomings.

In a number of associations, enterprises, and organizations, the proper attention is not yet paid to increasing the effectiveness of production, to improving the economic mechanism, to improving the administrative style and methods, to economizing the material and energy resources, to working with cadres, and to reinforcing the state, labor, and executive discipline.

The city has enterprises, associations, and even branches which have been operating in an unsteady manner, which have been unable to cope with certain planned assignments, which have been making poor use of production capacities. A number of plants and factories have failed to fulfill their pledges for making shipments of output in conformity with the concluded contracts and pledges, and have not been coping with the plan for profits. The increase in the average wages in a number of organizations has been outstripping the increase in labor productivity. There are still large losses of materials and an overexpenditure of work time. The construction vehicles and machinery are being used ineffectively. Certain administrators at construction sites fail to show the proper responsibility and discipline for the fulfillment of the tasks that have been assigned.

The transportation system in the capital has at its disposal large reserves for improving its work. The rolling-stock idle time continues to be great. Considerable complications in the work of the railroad men have resulted from the poor organization of railroad-car unloading at enterprises. A question that has become acute is the question of organizing the repair of railroad car bodies and containers by their own in-house efforts. This initiative is of great importance for improving the work of rail transportation. Not a single railroad car, not a single container, should leave Moscow in a state of disrepair.

The city's passenger transportation system is working strenuously, especially in areas where massive housing construction is under way. The contacts between science and production are still growing slowly, and are being reinforced just as slowly. There have been shortcomings in the work of enterprises and organizations in the urban economy, trade, and the everyday and communal services sphere.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee have instructed the party, Soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol and economic agencies to carry out a thorough and complete analysis of the results of the socialist competition during the celebration year, and to develop and carry out specific steps that guarantee the elimination of the existing shortcomings.

It is necessary to guarantee the complete dissemination and introduction of the experience gained by advanced collectives that were the winners in the All-Union Socialist Competition, as well as the valuable initiatives that are aimed at the further increase in the effectiveness of production and the quality of work, at improving the final economic results, and at the taking of all steps to save material, labor, and fuel-and-energy resources.

The 1983 plan and budget for Moscow provides for appropriate measures for the further development of the urban management and city planning, trade, public nutrition, and the providing of everyday services to the public. Steps have been planned for the further development of public health, public education, and culture.

Increased attention will be devoted to intensifying the contribution made by the people of Moscow to the fulfillment of the Food Program. At the present time, the preparation of a comprehensive program until 1990 is being completed in the city, jointly with the enterprises and organizations of the ministries and departments. That comprehensive program provides for the broad participation of labor collectives in the fulfillment of the decisions of the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Next year it is planned to achieve a considerable increase in the production and delivery of vehicles and equipment and spare parts, to carry out research on the vital scientific-technical questions that are linked with the fulfillment of the Food Program. The efforts of the organizations in Moscow will carry out a large volume of construction, in rural areas, of structures intended for production, housing, and cultural-everyday needs. The task has been posed to assure that all the enterprises and organizations in the capital have their own subsidiary farms and produce the largest possible amounts of meat, milk, potatoes, and vegetables.

Steps have been planned for the further development of the material-technical base of enterprises in the food, meat-and-dairy, fish, and other branches of the processing industry of the capital for the purpose of increasing the production, expanding the variety, and improving the quality of consumer goods.

Assuring the successful fulfillment of the planned assignment for 1983 is the duty of the party, Soviet, economic, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations and the labor collectives of Moscow. The city has all the conditions that are required for this: a powerful industrial base, experienced, highly qualified cadres, and a large scientific potential. It is necessary to reinforce the state, labor, and executive discipline at every sector of production, in all spheres of administration, and to increase the organizational spirit and businesslike attitude in work.

The Moscow city party's organization, the Soviets, the trade unions, and the Komsomol of the capital, and the labor collectives, have excellent traditions, the chief ones of which are persistent work to implement the party's policy and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee; high responsibility for the job that has been assigned; discipline and organizational spirit. It is necessary to guard and to multiply those traditions, to conduct one's work in such a way that the people of Moscow will continue to be always in the vanguard of the struggle for the fulfillment of the plans of the Communist Party.

In conclusion V.V. Grishin expressed his conviction that the city's workers, closely consolidated around the Communist Party and inspired by the awarding to Moscow and to the advanced rayons and collectives of the Challenge Red Banners of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee, will extend on an even broader scale the socialist competition for the preterm completion of the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan, will meet in a worthy manner the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, and will achieve new successes in the struggle to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the great tasks of communist construction.

60th Anniversary Celebration Speech

WA110900 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 82 p 3

[Speech by V.V. Grishin, first secretary of Moscow Gorkom and member of CPSU Politburo at joint meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR]

[Text] Dear comrades! In the name of the Communists and all the workers of the capital of our socialist union state, the hero city of Moscow, please allow me to give a cordial greeting and warm wishes to the participants in this solemn session, the fully empowered representatives of the fraternal union republics, on the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR. (Applause.)

Soviet citizens are marking in a solemn and joyful manner this remarkable jubilee -- the jubilee of the fraternal friendship of all the nations and nationalities in our Motherland.

The formation and development of the Soviet Union and the just resolution of the national question in our multinational country are the convincing testimony to the great vital force of the ideals of socialist internationalism and the outstanding successes of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU. (Applause.)

The historic importance of the formation of the Soviet Union and its achievements and tasks were discussed with great force and in a well-argued, penetrating manner, in the report by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. (Applause.)

The creation of the USSR was a tremendous achievement by our party, the party of internationalist, a party that has been able in the practical situation to carry out the ideas and behests of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, and the principles of national policy that were developed by him.

As they look back on the path that our union state have traveled over the past 60 years, the people of Moscow, like the rest of the Soviet citizens, are justifiably proud of the great achievements of the peoples of the USSR, and of the headlong socioeconomic and political development of all the union republics which are jointly building communism.

Sixty years ago, at the 1st All-Union Congress of Soviets, Moscow was chosen as the capital of the Soviet Union. That act expressed the recognition of its large authority as the capital of the Russian Federation, which had played an outstanding role in the unification movement of nations, in the consolidation of the nations and nationalities of the Soviet republics into a single international family.

For six decades Moscow has been meritoriously fulfilling the honorable and responsible role as the capital of the USSR and has served as a symbol of the indissoluble friendship of nations and the might of the Soviet Union. (Applause.)

The life of the USSR capital goes on in close relationship and interaction with the union and autonomous republics. The entire country has always been concerned, and continues to be concerned, about its capital, its development and prosperity. Moscow uses the advanced experience and useful undertakings that are born in the republics. In turn, Moscow has rendered, and continues to render, a large amount of aid to all the nations in the country in the development of their economy, science, culture, and the training of national cadres.

Moscow has an important role in defending the socialist gains of our Motherland. From here the party's Central Committee and the Soviet government led the heroic struggle

being waged by the Soviet nation against the forces of domestic counterrevolution and foreign intervention, against fascism during the grim years of the Great Patriotic War. In that struggle Moscow relied upon the complete support and aid of the nations of the fraternal republics. During the difficult year of 1941, when the fascist hordes were rushing toward our city, the entire country rose up to defend its capital.

The thankful memory of the people of Moscow will retain forever the exploits of the fighting men of all nationalities of our country who, side by side with the Russian nation, fought in bloody combat engagements to defend their beloved capital and who inflicted tremendous losses on the enemy. That victory at Moscow marked the beginning of a fundamental turning point in the course of the war and the complete defeat of the German fascist troops.

Moscow is the personification of the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union. In the complicated international situation, when imperialism is attempting to push the nations onto the path of military conflict, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are doing everything to reinforce the peace, to deepen the detente, and to prevent a nuclear war.

Moscow sends out realistic proposals that are based on the just principle of equality and identical security on both sides. USSR foreign policy corresponds to the interests both of the Soviet Union and of the other states. It enjoys the support of progressive mankind as a whole. Remembering the mandate of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin "to serve as an example for the entire country," Moscow, its working class, its intellectual class, and its workers have invariably marched, and continue to march, in the front ranks of the struggle for socialism and communism.

Thanks to the constant concern by the party and government, the aid of the nations of the union republics, and the selfless labor of the people of Moscow, our capital has become a tremendous economic, scientific, and cultural center in which the achievements of developed socialism have been embodied.

The task of converting Moscow into an exemplary communist city is being resolved persistently. The General Plan for the development of the capital is being carried out consistently. Large-scale urban development has been carried out. New avenues and housing areas have been built. The city economy has been organized practically anew. Moscow is becoming increasingly efficient, increasingly convenient for people's lives.

On the basis of the increase in the political and labor participation of the masses and the nationwide socialist competition in honor of the celebration, the people of Moscow have achieved new labor successes in the struggle to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. They are successfully completing the assignments for the first two years of the five-year plan.

Comrades! The entire history of the USSR during the past 60 years is a living chronicle of the struggle and victories of the Soviet nation, its achievements in the building of a new society. Those achievements were the result of the unification of the national republics into a single union state, which multiplied their forces in resolving economic and social tasks, and in defending the country, and which contributed to the prosperity of every union republic and to increasing the role of the USSR on the international scene.

The nations of our multinational country are looking confidently into the future. They link that future with the creative activities of the CPSU, its Central Committee, and with their Leninist course, which was developed by the 23rd to 26th CPSU Congresses.

Under the leadership of the party and its Central Committee, the workers of Moscow, true to the principles of socialist internationalism, will continue to do everything to multiply the contribution being made by the capital to the reinforcement of the might of our union state and to the further development and consolidation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (Prolonged applause.)

ARMENIAN SSR BGDIES HOLD PARTY-ECONOMIC AKTIV

Republic Leaders Meet

GF080935 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 21 Jan 83 pp 1, 2, 3

[Excerpts] The movement to create a highly demanding and organized atmosphere at the labor collectives and promote responsibility to successfully execute the 5-year plans and the resolutions of the party's 26th congress, is expanding everyday.

The workers of Armenia expressed these thoughts at the meeting of the republic's party-economic aktiv on 20 January in Yerevan. Those participating in the meeting of the aktiv included; secretaries of city and rayon party committees; ministers, chairmen of state committees; chiefs of commissions of the republic's Council of Ministers; chairmen of city and rayon people's deputies councils executive committees; chairmen of agroindustrial unions; directors of enterprises of industry, construction, transport, communications, and collective and state farms; secretaries of initial party organizations; trade union and Komsomol secretaries; officials of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, the trade unions council, the Komsomol Central Committee, and the Republic's State Planning Committee.

The meeting of the aktiv was opened by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The meeting reviewed the results of the fulfillment of 1982 national economic plans, the socialist obligations of 1983, and the means for the successful execution of the Armenian SSR socioeconomic State Plan, in light of the CPSU Central Committee November 1982 plenum resolutions.

F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, addressed the meeting

He said: During the numerous meetings at the republic's industrial enterprises, new constructions, the collective and state farms and the scientific establishments, briefings were given on last year's results and the concrete tasks for this year were decided upon. Stemming from the constant course of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, regarding the equal distribution of industry and agriculture and the directions for their development, the labor collectives undertook more responsible socialist obligations for 1983.

The industrial enterprises carried out the annual plan for the export and verification of the industrial production and most important products early; it was completed on 24 December. The industrial production volume increased by 3.8 percent as opposed to the 2.3 percent projected by the annual plan. A total of R152 million worth of industrial products were exported.

The successful fulfillment of the plan resulted in an 11.5 percent growth of industrial production during the 2 years of the 5-year plan.

More than 90 percent of the industrial production growth was due to the expansion, reconstruction and technical reequipment of the operating enterprises. The productivity of labor during the 2 years of the 5-year plan period increased by 4.6 percent, as projected by the 5-year plan.

At the same time, due to the means implemented for the protection of environment, under the management of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, certain productions consuming too much raw materials and energy were closed or decreased.

The efforts to improve the organization of industry management continued. There are a total of 81 production unions currently operating in the republic, which are exporting the 56 percent of the total industrial production volume.

The annual economic results achieved due to the introduction of science and technology achievements was over R62 million and those achieved due to the introduction of rationalization proposals and finds was over R63 million.

The weight and quantity of the variety of exported goods of governmental standard increased remarkably.

The governmental standard goods formed 18.9 percent of the total industrial production volume as opposed to the 18.6 percent projected by the plan.

Unfortunately, we did not always get what was planned or what our capabilities allowed. We did not succeed in uprooting the violators of planning discipline, the postponement of the plans to the end of the year, and the practice of underfulfilling them. The annual plan for verification of goods in 1982 was underfulfilled by R254 million and the goods production plan by R200.8 million.

The condition continues to be bad in fulfilling the proposals regarding the supply of products according to signed contracts and the undertaken obligations. Every third enterprise is not fulfilling the plan in this regard.

The supply of fuel to the population and national economy is not satisfactory. The fuel energy commissions established in the republic's rayons and cities are inadequately organizing the supply of heat and fuel to the population.

[F.T. Sarkisyan added]: The proposals of 1983 are a little higher than those projected by the 5-year plan. The national revenue, the pure product of the republic's material production branches will increase by 16.8 percent over that of 1982 during the 3 years of the 5-year plan, as opposed to the projected 15.8 percent.

The industrial production volume is scheduled to increase by 4.2 percent over that of 1982, and during the 3 years of the 5-year plan period, gross industrial production volume will increase by 16.2 percent, as opposed to the 15.5 percent projected by the plan.

Comrade F.T. Sarkisyan said: Our party is constantly fulfilling the course projected by the 26th Congress of the CPSU Central Committee and the May and November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenums to verify the Food Program and secure the stable supply of all types of provisions to the population.

The village workers made great efforts to successfully fulfill the state plan for agricultural development and the socialist obligations of the second year of the 5-year plan period. By overcoming the difficulties resulting from the disadvantageous seasons, the republic's field workers basically increased the production and storage volumes of the agricultural products. The grain storage plan was fulfilled by 113.5 percent, sugarbeet by 129.9 percent, potato by 139.4 percent, vegetables by 109 percent, grape by 110 percent, and fruit by 104.4 percent. It is noteworthy that the increase of agricultural production was due to the intensive use of soil, irrigation, fertilizers and other technological means.

One of the basic mistakes in our work is the underfulfillment of the plan for selling meat to the state. A total of 105,300 tons of meat has been sold to the government instead of the planned 108,000 tons. Ani, Abaran, Artik, Gukark, Ichevan, Noyemberyan, Tauinn and Sharahadin Rayons have underfilled the plan.

It is the task of all the agroindustrial enterprises and organizations to eliminate the mistakes in rural construction as soon as possible and establish means to absolutely fulfill the plans for the operation of projects and allocated capabilities.

A total of R283 million worth of capital investments will be allocated for the development of agricultural production in 1983. The villages will receive 1,340 tractors, 180 grain combines, 155 excavators, more than 1,600 trucks and various other technological equipment.

There has been R1036.4 million worth of state capital investment in the republic's national economy branches this year and R899 million worth of basic funds used. A number of production capabilities, agricultural projects, and sociocultural constructions were put into operation.

Regardless of the established means, capital construction continues to be one of the most underfulfilled branches in national economy. The basic plans for capital investment and the socialist obligations assigned to the construction ministries have not been accomplished. The pace of growth of capital investments is slow, the execution of plans for the operation of production capabilities and promoting labor productivity is insufficient.

The percentage of fulfilling installation work plan was the same as state capital investment plan, 94.7 percent.

The plan for basic funds was accomplished by 73.5 percent. The operation of capabilities important to national economy was underfulfilled.

Resident houses with a total area of 1,9,000 square meters, preschool establishments to accommodate 1,330 children, 2 hospitals to accommodate 370 persons each and others were not accomplished in 1982. A great increase in average wages to elevate labor productivity has been allowed.

The Ministry of Industrial Construction, which is not fulfilling the state plans every year, should be particularly criticized. Out of the 13 construction organizations of the ministry only 3 trusts have fulfilled the plans.

The work has been insufficient, particularly by "Yerevanshin" construction production union, which has fulfilled a mere 87.5 percent of the plan for installation work.

We are dissatisfied with the work of the Ministry of Construction Materials Industry, whose eight centers have not fulfilled the annual plans for gross and verified products. Certainly the underfulfillment of the production of cement and other local construction materials has reflected on the execution of plans by the construction organizations. The ministry is insufficiently engaged in efforts to increase the variety of exported goods and improve their quality. The organization of the complex utilization of raw materials is insufficient.

For the 3d year of the 11th 5-Year Plan period, great tasks are laid before the republic's construction workers. State capital investment will reach R1,072 million or 3.5 percent over that which was verified in 1982.

A number of capabilities and projects are planned to be put into operation in 1983, including: the means for producing 3,000 car trailers at the Charendzhavan car trailer factory; 1.5 tons of cheese and 5 tons of dairy products at the Yekhegnadzor cheese factory; R6.2 million worth of metal cutlery at the metal cutlery factory in Nayiri Rayon; R4.7 million worth of products at the Maralik illumination techniques electric equipment factory; exporting R5.8 million worth of diamond tools at Yerevan "Almast" production union and so forth.

The following projects are scheduled to be put into operation: The greenhouse combine in Razdan Rayon; the cistern of Lake (Hakhum) with a volume of 12 million cubic meters; a 250-bed hospital in nor arevshum and others.

Work must further increase to transfer Lake Vorotan waters through the Arpa-Sevan tunnel; to reconstruct the Ararat cement factory, to construct new stations of the Yerevan subway, the Chevan-Razdan railway and others.

A number of ministries and administrations have not fulfilled their financial and budget obligations. Great losses and unproductive expenses are being allowed in the national economy. These reached nearly R38 million in 1982.

It is necessary to note that as in trade, there are also many serious mistakes in consumer services for the population. The methods established for consumer services are not being implemented.

The ministries of trade and consumer services are allowing a severe decrease in the pace of goods trade, due to which their work was seriously criticized during the 1982 December plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. It was noted that the leaders of the republic's trade organizations are not making enough effort to study population demands and to improve the structure of the industrial and provisional products trade.

It is necessary to note that not all the means to raise the standard of medical aid to the population are being used. The elimination of mistakes in work organization is slow in hospitals, clinics, rural dispensaries, and emergency medical establishments.

The technological basis of some medical establishments in the republic is insufficient. The executive committees of the people's deputies councils are not taking the appropriate measures to expand and reconstruct the existing medical centers.

Regardless of the operation of a number of purification constructions and sewage networks, the construction of environment protection projects is lagging and the construction of projects for protection of waters is particularly slow. This work was assigned to the Housing and Municipal Services Ministry.

Under the constitutions of limited means allocated for the protection of the environment, such an attitude toward the fulfillment of the projects planned for the 5-year period cannot be allowed. A total of \$28.2 million has been allocated for this purpose in 1983. Construction for purifying polluted waters with a capacity of 80,000 cubic meters per day and stations for detecting and eliminating poisonous elements from emitted gases will be operational at the "Pentagonit" combine in Ichevan and the enterprises of the Ministry of Construction Materials Industry. The projected decrease of aluminum production at the Kanaker aluminum factory and the improvement of the production of chloroprene rubber and (?latex) at the "Nayiri" chemical production union will greatly improve the purification of the air in Yerevan city.

L. Khachatryan, chairman of the Kirovakan People's Deputies Council Executive Committee, addressed the meeting and said: The workers of Kirovakan accepted with feelings of deep satisfaction, pride and high responsibility the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee November plenum and the proposals and means noted in Comrade Y. Andropov's speech. By launching a large-scale socialist emulation effort and under the slogans "let us convert Kirovakan into a city of productive work, exemplary living and cultural and social law and order center" and "only high quality production in Kirovakan trademark," they achieved eminent successes during the jubilee year.

However, by assessing our work in accordance to the CPSU Central Committee November plenum demands we are aware that what was done is insufficient and that there are many mistakes and unsolved problems which are primarily the consequence of poor state, planning and labor discipline.

V.K. Asatryan, chairman of Artashat People's Deputies Council Executive Committee, said: The means stemming from the necessity of fulfilling the CPSU Food Program and the resolutions and demands of the CPSU Central Committee November 1982 Plenum, are the primary issues in the socialist obligations of Artashat Rayon workers in 1983. Our unpostponable task is to quickly make use of all agroindustrial means through the agroindustrial unions in the rayon.

The necessary condition for that is the promotion of state and work discipline. The people's deputies councils have an effective role here, particularly the rural councils and their executive committees, because the elevation of discipline is the undeviated execution of the laws regarding the various issues of our lives and work. This work is primarily the responsibility of those bodies.

On behalf of the republic's workers, the participants in the meeting assured the CPSU Leninist Central Committee and its Politburo that they will fulfill the CPSU Central Committee November 1982 plenum resolutions, further strengthen production and achieve discipline, further struggle for the productivity of labor and promotion of quality, successfully carry out the 1983 national economic plan and make a worthwhile contribution to the verification of the CPSU Central Committee 26th Congress resolutions and the great tasks of 11th 5-Year Plan.

The aktiv meeting adopted the socialist obligations of the republic workers for 1983, which will be published in press.

It was decided to continue the traditional socialist competition with workers of Georgian SSR, Azerbaijan SSR and Rostov.

The aktiv meeting was briefed by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Participating in the aktiv meeting were Comrades G.N. Andreyev; K.L. Dallakyan; V.B. Galumyan; K.G. Gambaryan; L.N. Nersesyan; G.M. Voskanyan; S.M. Petrosyan; M.B. Arzumanyan; K.A. Martirosyan; N.M. Tishchenko, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agricultural Department sector; N.B. Gromyko, official of the CPSU Central Committee.

Yerevan City Leaders

GF072000 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 19 Jan 83 p 2

[Text] Yerevan City held a party-economic aktiv meeting. It reviewed the results of work during the second year of the 5-year plan and the tasks and socialist obligations of the enterprises and organizations for 1983. A. Arzumanyan, secretary of the Yerevan City Party Committee, addressed the meeting.

Those who addressed the meeting noted that the city workers have fulfilled the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and plenums and achieved great successes in socialist obligations during 1982. The export plan goal was reached ahead of time on 23 December. A total of R78 million worth of products has been produced and R66 million worth of products verified [iradzvel] as opposed to the R40 million undertaken by the socialist obligations. A total of 840 types of products met governmental standard.

Certain efforts have also been made in capital construction. A total of R374.8 million worth of capital investments and R309 million worth of basic funds have been verified.

A notable change has occurred in the fields of services, education and health. The trade, cultural, social and municipal networks have been expanded.

Due to various means and the introduction of economization, 71.5 million kw/hrs of energy, 11,000 tons of metal, 32,000 tons of fuel and a great quantity of raw materials and other elements have been saved this past year. Science and culture have further developed.

At the same time it was noted at the aktiv meetings that there are basic mistakes in the work of the enterprises and organizations of industry, construction, transport and services. Many enterprises have not fulfilled the plans for goods production, export, verification and elevation of labor productivity. According to last year's results, 12 enterprises have not fulfilled the goods completion plan, 10 enterprises the goods export plan, and 25 the labor productivity plan.

The rayon party committees must seriously maintain discipline toward the plans, promote the creative work and competition and practically aid the initial party organizations. Through the party's effective measures, it is also necessary to strike back at the attempts of those managers who are using so-called objective reasons to explain poor results and not fully using the resources and capabilities under their disposition.

The participants of the aktiv unanimously noted that it is necessary to speed up the pace of production growth in order to fulfill the 5-year plan. Now that all the branches of the national economy have adopted plans for the third year of the 5-year plan period, it is necessary, from the first days, to establish a clear method in each department and mobilize efforts of the collectives for the fulfillment of the tasks.

Based on these demands, the aktiv meeting noted that it is the task of the party organizations to do their utmost to strengthen discipline and elevate responsibility toward work. It is necessary to increase the productivity of production everywhere in order to export goods of better quality with minimum expense.

The participants of the aktiv meeting noted that capital construction is the most lagging issue in Yerevan's economy. Many projects of vital importance to the city and its population were not completed in 1982. The plan for residential buildings was fulfilled by 69.6 percent and for preschool establishments by 45.4 percent. It was planned to construct clinics for 1,050 visitors. However, the construction workers did not accomplish any of these projects. Only one-third of the plan for the construction of hospitals was fulfilled.

The low quality of construction work continues. The condition of labor productivity is causing serious concern, and this is due to the fact that the party organizations of the construction and installation trusts and committees and the economic leaders have stopped paying attention to the method of work organization such as the brigade contract. Insufficient supplies of material and technological equipment, the poor management of construction and the preparation of the documents for outlines and accounts are also effecting the status of construction.

It is the main task of the city party organizations and all the workers to aim all efforts to achieve the 103 percent level in industry and fulfill the plans for construction works, particularly those in residential construction and raise the quality of construction.

It is necessary to launch a large-scale struggle in all branches of the national economy to increase labor productivity as a result of which the entire production growth should be achieved.

L. Nersesyan, first secretary of the Yerevan City Party Committee, addressed the aktiv meeting. The 1983 socialist obligation of Yerevan workers was adopted.

The participants in the meeting assured the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee that the capital's party, soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol organizations, laborers, leaders of collective economics, and intellectuals, and all the workers will do everything to fulfill the plans and the undertaken socialist obligations of each year of the 11th 5-Year Plan period, ahead of time and with high quality and will achieve the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, 27th Armenian Communist Party Congress, and the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum.

GEORGIAN CP AKTIV DEBATES LAW, ORDER, DISCIPLINE

PM091011 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 83 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Strengthening Law and Order and Discipline"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 5 Feb -- A comprehensive program to intensify the fight against law violations was adopted at a meeting of the Georgian Party aktiv held in Tbilisi today.

Those taking part discussed the results of the work of republic's party, soviet, and law enforcement organs in strengthening law and order and discipline over the past year and their tasks in the light of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) plenum.

The speeches delivered by E.A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and the other speakers noted that the struggle for public order and discipline is being waged on a broad front in the republic. The entire range of organizational, law enforcement and ideological measures is being coordinated and directed by a Georgian Communist Party Central Committee working group. Similar groups are operating under the party gorkoms and raykoms.

Analyzing the status of the struggle against crime, those taking part in the meeting noted that its results must be more substantial. Critical remarks and specific proposals aimed at the further consolidation of party, state and labor discipline were made.

DISSIDENT WRITER VLADIMOV TO EMIGRATE TO FRG

NC102204 Paris AFP in English 2139 GMT 10 Feb 83

[Text] Moscow, Feb 10 (AFP) -- Dissident Soviet writer Georgy Vladimov plans emigrating to West Germany and settle in Cologne, where the university has offered him a chair of Russian literature and contemporary Soviet studies, he told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE today.

Mr Vladimov, who earlier this week filed an emigration request with the authorities, expects to obtain all necessary authorizations to leave in June, together with his wife Natalya.

He said that as president of the Soviet section of Amnesty International, the human rights organization, he was still under threats of prosecution however for "anti-Soviet activities".

FISH INDUSTRY OFFICIAL FIRED; OTHERS REPRIMANDED

LD110846 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 11 Feb 83

[Text] In the latest issue of the People's Control page in PRAVDA, material entitled "The Session of The USSR People's Control Committee" is published.

The report tells of the unsatisfactory fulfillment of the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the further development of fishing and increasing fish catches in fresh water reservoirs in Bryansk, Kaluga, Kursk, Kuybyshev and Rostov Oblasts. A check showed that only 64 percent of the farms' capacities were being used. Catches were not increasing and productivity was falling. From this the People's Control Committee drew its conclusions. (Korenevskiy), head of the pond fishing directorate of the RSFSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, has been removed from his post. Deputy Minister Sanygin was reprimanded. It was also taken into consideration that the ministry will call the leaders of production associations -- (Kolkin) of Donrybprom and (Chernogortsev) of Kuybyshevrybprom -- to account and consolidate the management of the Kursh association.

BELGOROD OBKOM HOLDS 9 FEBRUARY PLENUM

New First Secretary Elected

LD091930 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 9 Feb 83

[Text] The work of party organizations in Belgorod Oblast to develop stock farming, in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, was discussed today at the plenum of the Belgorod Obkom. An organizational issue was considered. The plenum released Comrade Trunov from his duties as Obkom first secretary in connection with his election as chairman of board of the Tsentrosoyuz.

Comrade Ponomarev, who was working as an oblispolkom chairman, has been elected obkom first secretary.

New Secretary's Initials

PM101155 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 February 1983 First Edition publishes on page 2 a TASS report datelined Belgorod, 9 February under the heading "CPSU Obkom Plenum" which reveals that Ponomarev's initials are A.F.

RECTOR ON PERSISTENCE OF RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS

PM031425 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 January 1983 publishes on page 4, under the heading "Money For...A Daughter" a 2,000-word article by Prof M. Gafarova, rector of the Dushanbe Pedagogical Institute, condemning the persistence of the custom of arranged marriages and the payment of bride money in Tajikistan. Although many young people "are perfectly well aware of the reactionary meaning of religious customs" they succumb to the influence of the Muslim clergy, which "is 'modernizing' its activity to catch young people in its nets." Citing examples of the incomplete emancipation of women in Tajikistan, Gafarova claims that "the largest number of believers is to be found among nonworking women. In some rayons of the republic, two-thirds of able-bodied women stay at home." Finally she complains that "as a rule atheist work is activated in the period of religious holidays but in practice subsides for the rest of the time. It is only extremely rarely that the local press covers specific instances of the manifestation of religious prejudices."